FD-36 (Rev. 12-13-56)

DECLASSIFICATION [illegible] FROM
FBI AUTOMATIC DECLASSIFICATION GUIDE
DATE [illegible]

FBI

Date: March 21, 1960

Transmit the following in PLAIN TEXT
(Type in plain text or code)

Via AIR TEL AIR MAIL
(Priority or Method of Mailing)

CC TO: [illegible]
REQ. REC'D. [illegible]
DEC 18 1964
ANS [redacted]

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI

FROM: SAC, MEMPHIS [redacted]

SUBJECT: [redacted]
MEMPHIS, TENNESSEE
RACIAL MATTERS

Re Teletype Memphis to Bureau 3/19/60; letterhead memo to Bureau 3/19/60.

Enclosed herewith for the Bureau are 8 copies of a letterhead memo captioned as above and dated 3/21/60, giving up-to-date information as of the time of this memo's preparation.

Copies of this memo are being disseminated to District Headquarters of OSI, ONI, and G-2.

This is [redacted] Source of Information, [redacted] She furnished information to SA WILLIAM H. LAWRENCE.

AGENCY G-2, Dist Headquarters
REQ. REC'D
DATE FILED 4-24-60
FOR ACTION BIS
BY [illegible]

3 - Bureau (Encls. 16)
1 - Memphis
1 - Memphis [redacted]

WHL:ojr
(5)

[redacted] 170

REC-54

9 MAR 23 1960

EX-130

Attd.
Tele. Rm.
A. T.
A. T. S. D.
Supp. Div.
Rep. Div.

ENCLOSURE

Approved: [illegible] Sent M Per
Special Agent in Charge

5 APR 5 1960

FBI-Withers-882

RE: [redacted] MEMPHIS, TENNESSEE, RACIAL MATTERS. 3/21/60

[redacted]

T-1 also learned [redacted] Source also heard from ERNEST WITHERS, professional Negro photographer, that [redacted]

At 2:00 p.m. on March 19, 1960, [redacted] of the 111th CIC Detachment, G-2, 3rd Army, stationed at Memphis, Tennessee, was advised of the Library demonstrations and the subsequent arrests.

The Memphis Commercial Appeal in its issue of March 21, 1960, reported that Negro Ministers in Memphis, on March 20, 1960, appealed from their pulpits for members of their congregations to support the 41 arrestees of March 19, 1960. This issue of the paper reported that the 41 would be tried in Memphis City Court on March 21, 1960, on the Loitering and Disorderly Conduct charges. It reported that [redacted] Baptist Church (Negro) urged as many Negroes as possible to attend the trials, and reported that [redacted] and other Negro ministers approved of the Library sit-ins as an "effort of the students to get what they believe to be their rights." It stated that [redacted] Owen Junior College in Memphis, from which about half of the 41 arrestees came.

FBI-Withers-883

DECLASSIFICATION AUTHORITY DERIVED FROM:
REF AUTOMATIC DECLASSIFICATION GUIDE
DATE 03-31-2012

REPRODUCTION OF MATERIAL FORM

CONGRESSIONAL INQUIRY UNIT

DATE 4/26/78

The following material has been reproduced for excising and review at FBIHQ and/or delivery to the House Select Committee on Assassinations:
(See Bufile 62-117290; re HSCA request dated 4/12/78)

FILE NO. [redacted]

SECTION [redacted]

SERIALS [redacted] through [redacted]

(except following serials not in file on this date:)

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REPRODUCTION OF MATERIAL FORM

CONGRESSIONAL INQUIRY UNIT

DECLASSIFICATION AUTHORITY DERIVED FROM:
FBI AUTOMATIC DECLASSIFICATION GUIDE
DATE 02-27-2012

DATE 1/20/78

The following material has been reproduced for excising and review at FBIHQ and/or delivery to the House Select Committee on Assassinations:
(See Bufile 62-117290; re HSCA request dated 1/5/78)

FILE NO. 170-90

SECTION

SERIALS through

(except following serials not in file on this date:)

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FD-340a (4-7-61)

DECLASSIFICATION AUTHORITY DERIVED FROM:
FBI AUTOMATIC DECLASSIFICATION GUIDE
DATE 02-27-2012

b7D

(Title)

(File No)

1. 2/23/62 [redacted] b7D-4

2 - 9/27/62 [redacted]

3 - 1/10/63 11/23/62 [redacted]

4. 5-15-63 [redacted]

5. 8-6-63 2 Photos Ernest Columbus Withers, Sr., taken 6/63 and 2 negatives.

6 - 1-20-64 [redacted]

7. 8/16/66 2 photos of Ernest C Withers taken ?

8. 3-6-70 [redacted]

Disposition:

FBI-Withers-1039

DECLASSIFICATION AUTHORITY DERIVED FROM:
FBI AUTOMATIC DECLASSIFICATION GUIDE
DATE 12-1-2011

170-70-[redacted]

File No. [redacted]

Date Received 7/4/63

From BUREAU
(Name of Contributor)

(Address of Contributor)

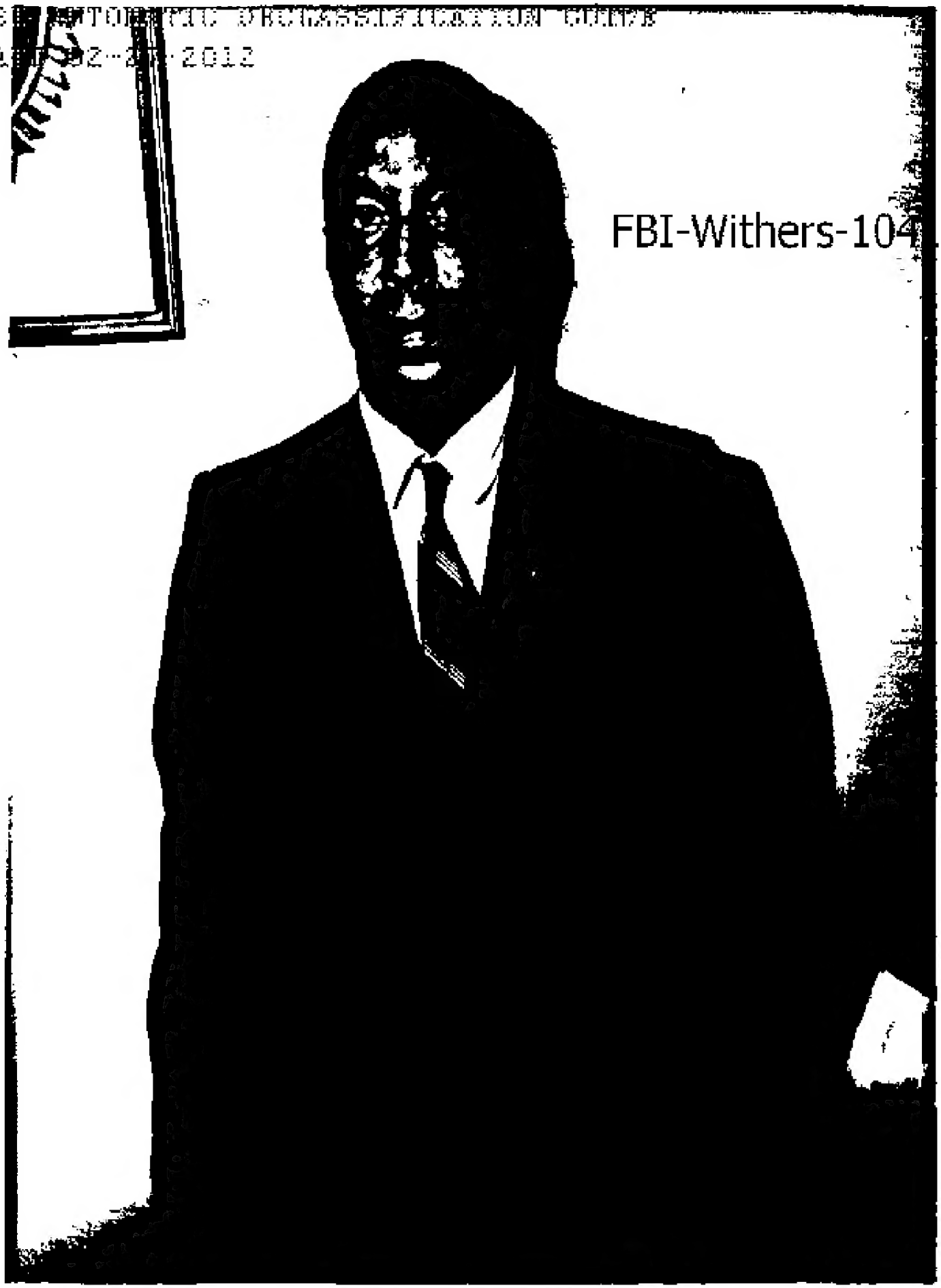
By CCO
(Name of Special Agent)

To Be Returned Yes ☐
No ☒

Description: 2 photos ERNEST COLUMBUS WITHERS, SR., Taken 6/63 and 2 negatives.

FBI-Withers-1040

DECLASSIFICATION AUTHORITY DERIVED FROM:
FBI AUTOMATIC DECLASSIFICATION GUIDE
DATE: 02-2[illegible]-2012



ERNEST COLUMBUS WITHERS, SR.

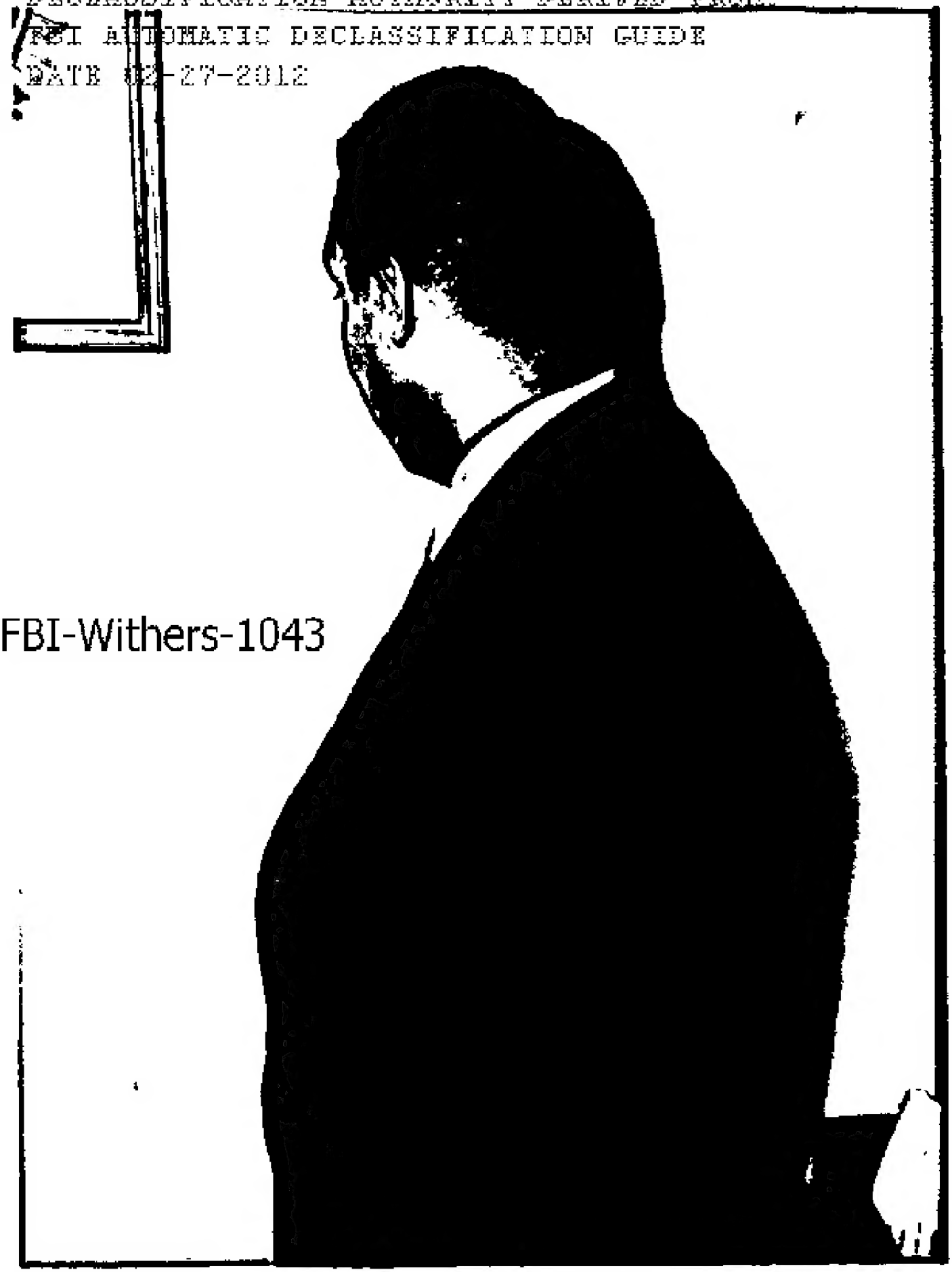
DECLASSIFICATION AUTHORITY DERIVED FROM:
FBI AUTOMATIC DECLASSIFICATION GUIDE
DATE 02-27-2012

FBI-Withers-1042

b7D -4

170-70-

DECLASSIFICATION AUTHORITY DERIVED FROM:
FBI AUTOMATIC DECLASSIFICATION GUIDE
DATE 02-27-2012



FBI-Withers-1043

ERNEST COLUMBUS WITHERS, SR.

DECLASSIFICATION AUTHORITY DERIVED FROM:
FBI AUTOMATIC DECLASSIFICATION GUIDE
DATE 02-27-2012

FBI-Withers-1044

b7D -4

120-70

FD-340 (REV. 6-24-65)

DECLASSIFICATION AUTHORITY DERIVED FROM:
FBI AUTOMATIC DECLASSIFICATION GUIDE
DATE 02-27-2012

b7D -4

File No. 170-70-[redacted]

Date Received: 8-15-66

Fr[redacted]

b7D -1

(ADDRESS OF CONTRIBUTOR)

Memphis Tenn

(CITY AND STATE)

By William H. Lawrence

(NAME OF SPECIAL AGENT)

To Be Returned ☐ Yes ☑ No

Receipt given ☐ Yes ☑ No

Description:

2 photos of
Ernest C Withers

FBI-W

DECLASSIFICATION AUTHORITY DERIVED FROM:
FBI AUTOMATIC DECLASSIFICATION GUIDE
DATE 02-27 2012

Ernest Columbus Withers
photo to Kansas 4-23-66

Attached photo
copy of photo

FBI-Withers-1046

b7D -4

170-170-

FBI-Withers-1047

DECLASSIFICATION AUTHORITY DERIVED FROM:
FBI AUTOMATIC DECLASSIFICATION GUIDE
DATE 02-27-2012

Ernest Coleman Withers

photo taken 4-23-66

as he was covering
as news photographer
man protesting
US policy in Vietnam

FBI-Withers-1048

b7D -4

170-70-[redacted]

DECLASSIFIC
FBI AUTOMAT
DATE 02-27-

170-70

170-70

b7D

170-70

170-70

FBI-Withers-1049

DECLASSIFICATION AUTHORITY DERIVED FROM:
FBI AUTOMATIC DECLASSIFICATION GUIDE
DATE 07-05-2012

REPRODUCTION OF MATERIAL FORM

CONGRESSIONAL INQUIRY UNIT

DATE 7-20-78

The following material has been reproduced for excising and review at FBIHQ and/or delivery to the House Select Committee on Assassinations:
(See Dufile 62-117290; re HSCA request dated 7-5-78)

FILE NO. 170-70

SECTION [redacted]

SERIALS [redacted] through [redacted]

(except following serials not in file on this date:)

EBF or BULKY:

Number of copies made 1 By CMT

RETAIN THIS FORM AS TOP SERIAL

DECLASSIFICATION AUTHORITY DERIVED FROM:
FBI AUTOMATIC DECLASSIFICATION GUIDE

170-70
SEARCHED ..... INDEXED .....
SERIALIZED ..... FILED .....
AUG 16 1966
FBI — MEMPHIS

FBI-Withers-685

SEE

DECLASSIFICATION AUTHORITY DERIVED FROM:
FBI AUTOMATIC DECLASSIFICATION GUIDE
DATE: 03-23-2012

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FD-9
(8-1-52)

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date 12/6/58

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI

ATTENTION: IDENTIFICATION DIVISION

RE: ERNEST C. WITHERS
PCI

Furnish the known identification record of the following:

Name: ERNEST C. WITHERS

Aliases: None known

FBI number:

(The following data should be furnished in the absence of an FBI number)

Identifying number (other than FBI number):

Sex: Male	Build: Medium
Race: Negro	Hair: Black
Date of birth: 8/7/22	Eyes: Maroon
Place of birth: Memphis, Tenn.	Complexion: Medium brown
Residence: 480 W. Brooks Rd., Memphis, Tenn.	Marital status: Married
	Occupation: Operates E. C. Withers Studio, 401 Beale St.
Height: 5' 11"	
Weight: 175 lbs.	Scars and marks:

Fingerprint Class: Formerly employed by Memphis PD and probably has had fp submitted to ident division. Has slight mustache

Also furnish photo [X] fingerprints [ ] handwriting specimen [ ]

RETURN REPLY TO:

SAC, Memphis

SEND COPIES TO:

IDENTIFICATION DIVISION'S REPLY

Name search negative	[ ]
Record attached	[✓]
Photo attached	[ ]
Photo not available	[✓]
Fingerprints attached	[ ]
Handwriting specimen attached	[ ]

OVER

JSS:NP
(1)

FBI-Withers-886

INSTRUCTIONS

1. A separate form should be used on each individual on whom you are requesting a record.
2. An effort should be made to furnish the FBI number or a law enforcement number. This FBI number is the one assigned to the fingerprint file and not to be confused with a Bureau or Field Division case number.
3. Descriptive data and fingerprint classifications need be furnished only when an FBI number is not available.
4. The office of origin should be indicated only in the lower left corner. All offices to which you wish copies of available records forwarded should be listed also in the lower left corner. A carbon of the revised form FD-9 should be included for each office to which you wish copies forwarded and these should be forwarded with the original to the Bureau.
5. The block in the lower right corner should not be filled in by the Field Division. After a search is made in the Identification Division this block will be appropriately marked and the form returned to the office of origin with any available data. Likewise, the carbon sent in with the form will be sent with the available data to the office listed for copies.

JAN 9 1 49 PM '50
REC'D - IDENT. DIV.
F B I

JAN 9 2 44 PM '50
REC'D - IDENT. DIV.
FBI

DECLASSIFICATION AUTHORITY DERIVED FROM:
FBI AUTOMATIC DECLASSIFICATION GUIDE
DATE: 07-23-2012

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE 1-14-58 3-1

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

WASHINGTON 25, D. C.

J. Edgar Hoover
Director.

The following FBI record, NUMBER none assigned, is furnished FOR OFFICIAL USE ONLY.

CONTRIBUTOR OF FINGERPRINTS	NAME AND NUMBER	ARRESTED OR RECEIVED	CHARGE	DISPOSITION
ONI-MID	Ernest Columbus Withers #4C-10	appl 9-30-41		

Description:
Race: Negroid
Sex: male
Height: 5-9
Weight: 160
Hair: black
Eyes: brown
Complexion: Negroid
Build: medium
Birth: 8-7-22, Memphis Tenn
Citizenship: USA
Residence: 1062 N. Manassas in 1941 (as on prt #4C-10)
Company: American Finishing Company, Memphis Tenn

Fingerprint classification:
17 O 11 U OOM 12
M 20 W OIM

Since further fingerprints now an identifying number which is indexed in our files accompanied your request, FBI cannot guarantee in any manner that this material concerns the individual in whom you are interested.

SEARCHED
SERIALIZED
JAN 16 1958

FBI-Withers-888

Notations indicated by * ARE NOT BASED ON FINGERPRINTS IN FBI files. The notations are based on data furnished this Bureau concerning individuals of the same or similar names or aliases and ARE LISTED ONLY AS INVESTIGATIVE LEADS.

16—15180-2 U. S. GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE

DECLASSIFICATION AUTHORITY DERIVED FROM:
FBI AUTOMATIC DECLASSIFICATION GUIDE
DATE 03-02-2012

Memphis Press-Scim.
9-8-59.
Page 11

Charge: Buying Suit With a Bad Check

Ernest Columbus Withers, negro, operator of a downtown photo studio, has been arrested on a charge of buying a suit at Goldsmith's with a $35 bad check.

He has confessed, said Charles Young, chief of detectives.

Withers is 36 and lives at 480 Brooks. He has been prominent in negro activities and was once a policeman.

MEMPHIS PRESS*SCIMITAR
SEPTEMBER 9, 1959
MEMPHIS, TENN.
MR. EDWARD J. MEEMAN, ED.
SUBMITTED BY MEMPHIS

SEARCHED.....INDEXED
SERIALIZED.....FILED
SEP 1959
FBI - MEMPHIS

MASTER

9-11-59H

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
WASHINGTON 25, D. C.

DECLASSIFICATION AUTHORITY DERIVED FROM:
FBI AUTOMATIC DECLASSIFICATION GUIDE
DATE: 10-12-2005

J. Edgar Hoover
Director.

The following FBI record, NUMBER 262 764 D, is furnished FOR OFFICIAL USE ONLY.

CONTRIBUTOR OF FINGERPRINTS	NAME AND NUMBER	ARRESTED OR RECEIVED	CHARGE	DISPOSITION
ONI & MID	Ernest Columbus Withers #4C-10	appl 9-30-41		
SOS Army	Ernest Columbus Withers #85-USM	appl 8-11-42		
Army	Ernest Columbus Withers Sr. #34713142	4-6-43		
PD Memphis Tenn	Ernest Columbus Withers #73240	9-4-59	Inv (Viol Bad Chk Law)	

[redacted]

[redacted]

[redacted]

FINALIZED AM INDEXED AM FILED 1959 BEH

FBI-Withers-890

Notations indicated by * ARE NOT BASED ON FINGERPRINTS IN FBI files. The notations are based on data formerly furnished this Bureau concerning individuals of the same or similar names or aliases and ARE LISTED ONLY AS INVESTIGATIVE LEADS.

16—70589-4 U. S. GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE

DECLASSIFICATION AUTHORITY DERIVED FROM:
FBI AUTOMATIC DECLASSIFICATION GUIDE
DATE 03-02-2012

MASTER MASTER MASTER

9-11-59 H

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
WASHINGTON 25, D. C.

J. Edgar Hoover
Director.

1-EU

The following FBI record, NUMBER 262 764 D, is furnished FOR OFFICIAL USE ONLY.

CONTRIBUTOR OF FINGERPRINTS	NAME AND NUMBER	ARRESTED OR RECEIVED	CHARGE	DISPOSITION
	FLASH BY BUREAU: If any information or inquiry received, Notify BFD Memphis, their file [redacted], per inf rec 8-14-59. (ASN 34 713 142)			
	THIS PAGE SHOULD NOT BE DISSEMINATED OUTSIDE FBI.			

FBI-Withers-891

Notations indicated by * ARE NOT BASED ON FINGERPRINTS IN FBI files. The notations are based on data formerly furnished this Bureau concerning individuals of the same or similar names or aliases and ARE LISTED ONLY AS INVESTIGATIVE LEADS.

16-70682-4 U. S. GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE

DECLASSIFICATION AUTHORITY DERIVED FROM:
XII AUTOMATIC DECLASSIFICATION GUIDE
DATE 03 [illegible]

9-11-59H

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
WASHINGTON 25, D. C.

J. Edgar Hoover
Director.

2-BU

The following FBI record, NUMBER 262 764 D, is furnished FOR OFFICIAL USE ONLY.

CONTRIBUTOR OF FINGERPRINTS	NAME AND NUMBER	ARRESTED OR RECEIVED	CHARGE	DISPOSITION
CC-FBI Memphis Tenn				

FBI-Withers-892

Notations indicated by * ARE NOT BASED ON FINGERPRINTS IN FBI files. The notations are based on data formerly furnished this Bureau concerning individuals of the same or similar names or aliases and ARE LISTED ONLY AS INVESTIGATIVE LEADS.

16—70580-1 U. S. GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE

DECLASSIFICATION AUTHORITY DERIVED FROM
[illegible]

TIONAL FORM NO. 10
5010-104-01

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : SAC

DATE: 2-7-61

FROM : SA WILLIAM H. LAWRENCE

SUBJECT: ERNEST COLUMBUS WITHERS
PCI

Re Serial 60.

On 2-1-61, JAMES C. MACDONALD, NA, Chief, Memphis Police Department, furnished information from his Department's personnel file regarding ERNEST COLUMBUS WITHERS, a former patrolman. This showed WITHERS to have been born 8-7-22 at Memphis; residence, 225 Reno Avenue, as of 10-11-48; race, Negro; sex, male; wife, [redacted] mother, MINNIE WITHERS; father, ARTHUR EARL WITHERS; former employment, dates not listed, Jarman Shoe Store, Main and Monroe, Memphis; Humko Company, Thomas Avenue, Memphis, U. S. Army and self-employed.

WITHERS was employed as a patrolman on the Police Department from 11-5-48 until 8-25-51. On the latter date WITHERS was caught by [redacted] current Assistant Chief, in the act of dividing money with a male Negro, [redacted] said money being the proceeds from the sale of whiskey by [redacted] which whiskey was provided by WITHERS. WITHERS was summarily fired for conduct unbecoming an officer and is not eligible for rehire.

The file also showed that he was suspended for a day on 8-20-49 for failure to appear in court as a prosecuting witness; that he was suspended for a week on 12-2-48 for fighting with an auto salesman.

MACDONALD pointed out that WITHERS was one of the first Negro officers ever hired by the Memphis PD. He said that while he was intelligent, he had proven himself untrustworthy by illegally engaging in the furnishing of whiskey to another to sell.

MACDONALD added that he personally does not like WITHERS and feels that WITHERS, while no doubt loyal to the

1- [redacted]
1- [redacted]
Memphis Division)

WHL:FJ
(2)

[redacted]

United States, is definitely an opportunist. He pointed out that since leaving the Police Department WITHERS has been self-employed as a free lance news and portrait photographer in the Negro community.

MACDONALD pointed out that he would not personally trust WITHERS, although he pointed out that WITHERS might be cooperative with any governmental agency if he thought it would be to his advantage to do so. MACDONALD pointed out that on 2-1-61, [redacted] advised that he had a lot of dealings with WITHERS while the latter was on the Police Department. He advised that WITHERS had not been a good officer and required an excessive amount of supervision.

RECOMMENDATION

In view of the above, it is not believed that WITHERS can meet the Bureau's reliability requirements as a PCI(RAC) wherein his activities can be directed or controlled. However, because of his many contacts in the racial field, plus his indicated willingness to cooperate with this Bureau, as attested by his recent furnishing of information, it is recommended that WITHERS be considered as a PCI. He will be contacted regarding general criminal matters. If in the course of these contacts he volunteers any information relating to security matters or racial matters, it of course will be accepted. It will be understood, of course, that his activities will not be directed in any manner with regard to racial matters or security matters.

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
WASHINGTON 25, D. C.

2-9-61P

DECLASSIFICATION AUTHORITY DERIVED FROM
FBI AUTOMATIC DECLASSIFICATION GUIDE
DATE [illegible]

J. Edgar Hoover
Director.

The following FBI record, NUMBER 262 764 D, is furnished FOR OFFICIAL USE ONLY.

CONTRIBUTOR OF FINGERPRINTS	NAME AND NUMBER	ARRESTED OR RECEIVED	CHARGE	DISPOSITION
ONI & MID	Ernest Columbus Withers #4C-10	appl 9-30-41		
SOS Army	Ernest Columbus Withers #85-USM	appl 8-11-42		
Army	Ernest Columbus Withers Sr.- #34713142	4-6-43		
PD Memphis Tenn	Ernest Columbus Withers #73240	9-4-59	Inv (Viol Bad Chk Law)	

SEARCHED ..... INDEXED .....
SERIALIZED ..... FILED .....
FEB 10 1961
FBI—MEMPHIS

FBI-Withers-894A

Notations indicated by * ARE NOT BASED ON FINGERPRINTS IN FBI files. The notations are based on data formerly furnished this Bureau concerning individuals of the same or similar names or aliases and ARE LISTED ONLY AS INVESTIGATIVE LEADS.

16—70382-4 U. S. GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
WASHINGTON 25, D. C.

2-9-61P

DECLASSIFICATION AUTHORITY DERIVED FROM:
FBI AUTOMATIC DECLASSIFICATION GUIDE
DATE 03 02 2012

J. Edgar Hoover
Director.

1-BU

The following FBI record, NUMBER 262 764 D , is furnished FOR OFFICIAL USE ONLY.

CONTRIBUTOR OF FINGERPRINTS	NAME AND NUMBER	ARRESTED OR RECEIVED	CHARGE	DISPOSITION
	FLASH BY BUREAU: If any information or inquiry received, Notify BFD Memphis, their file [redacted] per inf rec 8-14-59. (ASN 34 713 142)			
FBI Withers 895	THIS PAGE SHOULD NOT BE DISSEMINATED OUTSIDE FBI.			

Notations indicated by * ARE NOT BASED ON FINGERPRINTS IN FBI files. The notations are based on data formerly furnished this Bureau concerning individuals of the same or similar names or aliases and ARE LISTED ONLY AS INVESTIGATIVE LEADS.

16-70282-4 U. S. GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE

Identification Record Request
FD-9 (Rev. 11-28-58)

DECLASSIFICATION AUTHORITY DERIVED FROM
FBI AUTOMATIC DECLASSIFICATION GUIDE
DATE 03-22-2012

INSTRUCTIONS

1. This form may be submitted in legible hand-printing.
2. Use separate form for each individual on whom record is requested.
3. Make effort to furnish FBI Identification Number or Law Enforcement Identification Number.
4. Furnish descriptive data and fingerprint classification only when FBI Number not available.
5. Indicate office for reply in lower-left corner only. Also list in lower-left corner all offices which should receive copies of available records. Include carbon of revised FD-9 for each office receiving copies and forward with original to Bureau.
6. Do not fill in block in lower-right corner.
7. Where available furnish Law Enforcement Identification Number and Military Service Number.

To: DIRECTOR, FBI Attention: Identification Division

Date 2-1-61

Re ERNEST COLUMBUS WITHERS

Furnish The Known Identification Record of the Following:

Name: Ernest Columbus Withers

FBI No. 262 764 D

Other No. Memphis PD # 73240

Other No. Memphis - 446-10

Aliases

Sex	Race	Birth Date	Birthplace	Residence
M	Negro	Aug. 7, 1922	Memphis, Tenn.	480 Brooks Rd. Memphis Tenn.

Height	Weight	Build	Hair	Eyes	Complexion	Age
5'11"	175	Medium	Black	Brown	Medium Brown	38

Fingerprint Classification
17 O 11 U OOM 12
M 20 W OIM

Scars, marks and tattoos

Also Furnish:
- [ ] Photo
- [ ] Fingerprints
- [ ] Handwriting Specimens

Return Reply to: CMK-up
SAC, Memphis

Send Copies To:

Identification Division's Reply 2-9-61

- [ ] On basis of Information furnished, unable to identify:
  - [ ] Criminal Files
  - [ ] Civil Files
  - [ ] All Files
- [x] Record Attached
- [ ] Photo Attached
- [ ] Photo Not Available
- [ ] Fingerprints Attached
- [ ] Handwriting Specimen Attached

SERIALIZED FILED
FEB 10 1961
FBI — MEMPHIS

FBI-Withers-896

DECLASSIFICATION AUTHORITY DERIVED FROM
FBI AUTOMATIC DECLASSIFICATION GUIDE
DATE 09-02-2012

HONORED — A. E. Withers, Jr. was honored last week at a This Is Your Life Program given at his church Cummings Street Baptist, pastored by Rev. W. L. Varnado. Mr. Withers, illustrious member of the church for a number of years, is a retired postal worker. He had been Superintendent of the Sunday school for 12 years. Charles Terrell, superintendent now, defeated Mr. Withers this year by one vote. On hand to help him celebrate the occasion was a portion of his six kids, 31 grandchildren and two great grandchildren. Mrs. Helen Houston was chairman of the program with Mrs. H. Nelson, co-chairman. A capacity crowd paid their respects to Mr. Withers with several of his children giving speeches. Ernest Withers, popular photographer, is the son of the honoree. Mr. Withers is shown here seated with Mrs. Withers. Reverend Varnado is seen at the pulpit. (Withers photo)

Tri State Defender
Memphis Tenn
(weekly)
issue of 2-25-3-3-61

SEARCHED ... INDEXED ...
SERIALIZED ... FILED ...
FBI - MEMPHIS

DECLASSIFICATION AUTHORITY DERIVED FROM:
FBI AUTOMATIC DECLASSIFICATION GUIDE
DATE: 03-06-2012

TABLES TURNED

PHOTOG ARRESTED — Ernest C. Withers, prominent Memphis photographer, was arrested by policemen last Thursday night for taking a picture in Walgreen's at Main and Madison during sit-in activity. M. G. Wester, manager of the store said he had forbidden pictures of sit-ners from both the Negro and white photographers. George Hardin, another Negro photographer, was arrested along with Withers. Judge Boushe fined both $25 and recommended that a test case be made of the incident. Atty. Russell B. Sugarmon, jr., defended.

The New Tri State Defender
Issue of Sat. 7/8/61
Memphis Tenn.

SEARCHED ... INDEXED mg ... FILED mg
JUL 25 1961
FBI - MEMPHIS

DECLASSIFICATION AUTHORITY DERIVED FROM:
THE AUTOMATIC DECLASSIFICATION GUIDE
[illegible] 03-02-2012

Date Received	Recv'd from (name or symbol No.)	Recvd By
8/14/61	[redacted]	SA WILLIAM H. LAWRENCE

Method of Delivery (check appropriate blocks)

X person ___ telephone ___ mail X orally ___ recording ___ written

If orally furnished and reduced to writing by Agent: Date of Report

Dictated 8/18/61 to GMH R/D — 8/14/61

Transcribed 8/24/61 GMH — Date(s) of activity 8/13/61

Authenticated by Informant _____

Brief description of activity or material

Results of Sunday, 8/13/61, [redacted]

[redacted] E. C. Withers.

File where original is located if not attached:

Remarks:

[redacted] has always furnished reliable information in the past.

1 - [redacted]
1 - [redacted] (E. C. Withers)
1 - [redacted]
1 -
1 -
1 -
1 - [redacted]
1 - [redacted]
1 -
1 -
1 -
1 - [redacted]
1 -
1 - [redacted]
1 -
1 -
WHL:gmh
(16)

[redacted]

Memphis, Tennessee
August 14, 1961

[redacted]

[redacted]

[redacted]

[redacted]

[redacted]

b6 -1
b7C -4
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0-7 (Rev. 4-6-62)

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Date 2-8-63

RE: ERNEST COLUMBUS WITHERS
CS (RAC)

DECLASSIFICATION AUTHORITY DERIVED FROM:
FBI AUTOMATIC DECLASSIFICATION GUIDE
DATE 02-02-2012

- [ ] For information
- [x] For appropriate action
- [ ] Surep, by _____

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- [ ] Enclosed are corrected pages from report of SA _____ dated _____.

Remarks:

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FBI - MEMPHIS
Laurence Vogel

FBI-Withers-902

Enclosure(s)
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FD-350 (6-3-62)

DECLASSIFICATION AUTHORITY DERIVED FROM:
FBI AUTOMATIC DECLASSIFICATION GUIDE
DATE: 05-30-2012

(Mount Clipping in Space Below)

Funeral Rites For Arthur Earl Withers In Washington, D. C.

The first Boy Scout master to work in the Dixie Homes area, died in Washington, D. C. Saturday, March 23 at 1:30 p.m., according to word received here. Arthur Earl Withers, Jr., was a native of Memphis. He suffered a stroke on his job five days previously.

Mr. Withers was also one of the first two Negroes here to be cited as Eagle Scouts. He was the first scoutmaster of the St. Stephen Baptist Church's scout unit.

Funeral services will be conducted at the John T. Ryan Funeral home in Washington, D. C. at 2 p.m. tomorrow (Thursday, March 28). Interment will be in the Carver Memorial cemetery.

A graduate of Manassas high school in the class of 1934, he played football there. He was captain of the football team in '33 and '34. He went to Washington in 1941. He was employed as an accountant in the Defense department where he suffered the attack at his desk. He was carried to Freedman's hospital. Before accepting his Defense Department job, he attended Howard University there.

He is the brother of Ernest C Withers, Sr., owner of the Withers Studio Photography on Beale st.

Other survivors include his wife, the former Lorraine Thompson of Memphis, who graduated from Manassas in the same class as her husband; five daughters, Mrs. Pearl Williams, Mrs. Thelma Samuels, Mrs. Elaine Childs, Mrs. Mar-

— Pg 1 Sec 63 New Tri State Defender —

A. EARLE WITHERS JR.

Earle Withers, Jr. Dies In Washington

Funeral services were held this Thursday in Washington, D. C. for the late A. Earle Withers, Jr., a former Memphian who died Saturday at Freedmen Hospital in the nation's capital.

The deceased was the son of Mr. and Mrs. A. E. Withers, Sr., of Memphis and brother of Ernest C. Withers, well - known Memphis photographer.

He was also the brother of James B. and Jacob O. Withers of Washington, Mrs. Alice Jackson of Richmond, Calif., and Mrs. Vivian Peters of Chicago, Ill.

He was the husband of Mrs. Lorraine Withers and father of five daughters.

He was the son-in-law of Mrs. Harry Thompson of Memphis.

Funeral services were held from John T. Ryan Funeral Home and burial was in Carver Memorial Cemetery.

(Indicate page, name of newspaper, city and state.)

Pg 1 3/30/63 Memphis Courier

Pg 3/30/63 issue New Tri State Defender

Date:

Edition:

Author:

Editor:

Title: Ernest Withers CS (Rec)

Character:

or

Classification:

Submitting Office:

FBI — Memphis

FD-350 (4-3-62)

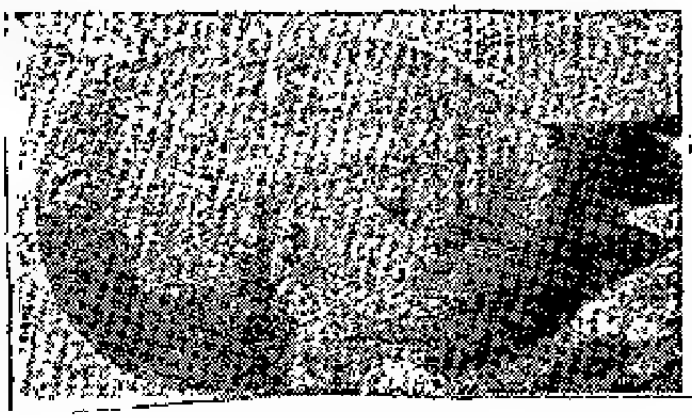
DECLASSIFICATION AUTHORITY DERIVED FROM:
FBI AUTOMATIC DECLASSIFICATION GUIDE
DATE 20 [illegible]

(Mount Clipping in Space Below)

MEMPHIS, TENNESSEE, SATURDAY, JUNE 22, 1963

Following Ever's Funeral

WITHERS IS BEATEN, JAILED IN JACKSON



ERNEST WITHERS JR.

Note - we had a file on him Number 44-1077 #

(Indicate page, name of newspaper, city and state.)

P1
Memphis World
Memphis, Tenn.

Date: 6-22-63
Edition:
Author:
Editor:
Title: Ernest Columbus Withers
Character of Classification: CS (Rac)
Submitting Office:

UNCLASSIFIED BY AUTHORITY OF FBI
BY [illegible]
DATE [illegible]

Snatched By Cops In Miss.

Ernest Withers, Sr., the popular photographer, is back in Memphis with a couple of knots on his head, a bruised body, a torn coat and a handful of exposed film, but he's mighty happy to be out of the clutches of the Jackson, Miss. law enforcement officers.

Mr. Withers was swooped up by Jackson policemen, beaten about the head and body, tossed into a penal farm truck and hauled off to the Fairgrounds' "prison" during the climax of a demonstration that followed the Saturday funeral of Medgar Evers, the NAACP field secretary who was murdered Wednesday morning a week ago.

The photographer, who had been assigned by several papers to "cover" the funeral, spent four hours in prison, one hour of which he and other prisoners were forced to stand with their hands and heads against a wall.

Film in his camera was snatched out by arresting officers, exposed to light, and later returned to him.

Mr. Withers, his son Perry and two Memphis reporters had worked their way to the corner of Farish and Capital where policemen had formed a human barricade blocking about 400 hand-clapping, singing and jeering youngsters bent on breaking through and marching on the heart of town. The young freedom marchers threw bricks and bottles at the cops and shouted "Shoot, shoot, shoot."

The marchers began moving toward town following Mr. Evers' funeral and after they had followed his remains from the Masonic Temple over a distance of 20 blocks to the Collins Funeral Home.

Mr. Withers was not idle as he stood near the police barricade. He shot scene after scene which included a knife-wielding white boy who was grabbed by policemen as he started for the Negro [illegible]

(Continued [illegible] Page Four)

Snatched By Cops

(Continued from Page One)

When the penal farm truck drove up, policemen made a grab for anyone within their reach. They had been eyeing Withers as he made pictures and he was one of the first they nabbed. "Two of them winged me, each grabbing one of my arms," he said.

"My feet were half in the air and half on the ground as they hustled me to the truck. I was trying to hold onto my camera and trying to duck the blows all at the same time," Withers said.

"The prison truck was already packed when I got there and while I was trying to get in those guys were hitting me from all angles," he told the World.

Thaddeus T. Stores, editor of the Tri-State Defender, who rode with Mr Withers to Jackson, was successful in contacting a high police official in the Mississippi capital. The official naily released Withers without charge.

The police victim complained of headaches Tuesday and said he planned visiting a doctor for an examination.

Mark Stansbury, another Memphis photographer and free-lance reporter, flew to Jackson to cover the funeral for Jet. He was not with Withers at the time of the arrests.

James Meredith, the Ole Miss student, rode around Jackson in his Thunderbird almost unnoticed.

The Masonic Temple, scene of Mr. Evers' funeral, has a seating capacity of 2000. But an extra 1000 managed to jam the aisles and dining and kitchen area.

Temperature outside the temple was 102. It was much hotter inside.

There were 50 or more floral designs, with Dick Gregory's and the NAACP's placed at the foot of the casket. Gregory was there, along with Ralph Bunche, Congressman Diggs, Martin Luther King and Ralph Abernathy.

Fifty cars followed the hearse to the funeral home after rites had been said, and thousands of marchers followed the cars.

FD-350 (4-3-62)

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FBI AUTOMATIC DECLASSIFICATION GUIDE
DATE 03-05 2011

(Mount Clipping in Space Below)

ERNEST C. WITHERS, SR. is displaying the coat that Jackson, Mississippi police ripped off of him during a demonstration which he was photographing. He holds the two rolls of film deliberately exposed by police after he was arrested. He is also holding a bloody handkerchief

Defender Photographer Held In Jail 4 Hours After Beating By Police

As Told By
ERNEST C. WITHERS, SR.

As a news photographer, I have covered numerous racial incidents in the South, which began with the Emmett Till trial.

My assignments have since taken me to the Gus Coates shooting at Belzoni, Miss., the George Lee funeral in the Delta following his murder; the Clinton, Tenn. school crisis, Little Rock and the Mack Charles Parker lynching.

But it was only following the Medgar Evers funeral in Jackson, Miss. last Saturday that I shed my first drops of blood in the line of duty.

After having followed the three-line march with the mourners from the Masonic hall, where the funeral was held, back to Collins Funeral home with the body, the group that was with me went into a store for refreshments.

Note - Evers Funeral was Sat. 6-15-63.

STARTED UPTOWN

We could hear the young people out in the street singing Freedom songs and could see them dancing. When they started marching uptown on Farris Street, we went out and began following them to see what was going on.

After they reached a certain point, they were stopped by a barricade of police. The youth stopped and kept singing. Some persons who were not so young were out in the streets dancing and singing the Freedom songs.

A white man with a long-bladed knife tried to break through the line to get at the Negroes, but he was stopped and roughed up by the officers. It was at this point that I began shooting pictures.

BROUGHT DOGS

In the meantime the police had formed another barricade one block away and began moving in. I could hear the dogs barking and the penal farm trucks backing up toward the crowd.

Then the officers started grabbing the demonstrators who were out in the streets and began beating and kicking them as they pushed them toward the trucks. Women, men, and teenagers were being beaten, and all of the time I was standing on the sidewalk, photographing one horrible scene after the other amidst the screams.

Suddenly, a large burly white man, who was not an officer, but looked more like one of the sanitation employ-

See BEATEN, Page 2

(Indicate page, name of newspaper, city and state.)

P 1

New Tri State Defender

Memphis Tenn.

Date: 6-22-63
Edition:
Author:
Editor:
Title: Ernest Columbus Withers

Character: CS (RAC)
or
Classification:
Submitting Office:

FBI-Withers-906

Note w/ a pen

Funeral

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FBI [illegible]
DATE 02 05 2012

2

[illegible] the driver drove fast and made sudden stops to add to the discomfort of those who had been arrested.

En route to the Fairgrounds I was concerned about what might happen to the pictures I had made during the arrests, and one young woman said, "Give me the film, and I will hide it for you. They don't search women."

COME OUT.

When we arrived at the Fairgrounds, in an area that looked more like a stockade, the truck stopped, and a policeman came around to the back and said, "All right, we want this nigger photographer to come on out. What did you do with the film? We know that you gave it to one or them nigger women."

When I explained that I was not familiar with the other persons on the truck and did not know who had hidden it, the officer said, "Well, we will search all of these nigger women 'til we find it."

They called a Negro woman dressed in a blue uniform and had her search the women until she found the rolls of film. In the meantime they gave me a top of the head to bottom of the foot search, to make sure that I had not concealed any film on my person.

HEAD TO WALL

Afterward they pushed me toward a man who was taking the names and addresses of persons who had been arrested. When I got to the one that I thought was designated, the man said, "Nigger, that white man didn't tell you to come over here. Get on over to that table."

After they got our names, they made us stand with our heads against the wall for an hour.

3

When we w[illegible] transported back downtown to the jail. It was after we got there that we were fed, and I observed that the food was better seasoned than it had been in Memphis jails.

Four hours after I was arrested, a turnkey came to the cell where a number of us were lodged and called my name.

One of the demonstrators told me, "Don't you get happy. They are only calling you to take your fingerprints."

I was released after Thaddeus T. Stokes, Tri-State Defender editor and William C. Little, signed for me.

The police gave me my film and my camera, but I found out that they had exposed the film that I had taken of them beating the demonstrators. My coat had been torn during the beating they gave me.

I have decided to file a $100,000 damage suit against the State of Mississippi for false arrest.

1

Beaten

(Continued From Page 1)

es, came over and snatched me into the street.

BEATING BEGAN

The force of the movement took the top off my camera. As I was trying to retrieve it, a policeman came over and began beating me with nightsticks, and ushering me toward the truck. It appeared that every officer between the spot that I was taking pictures from and the truck joined in beating me. The only way to escape the blows was to get in the truck as fast as one could.

It was only after I got inside the truck that I discovered I had been hurt to the extent that I was bleeding from a cut on my forehead.

There were about 14 persons already inside the truck when I got in, and four of us were shedding blood.

A white man who was shoved in after I was was bleeding from cuts on the back of his head. His collar was drenched with blood.

He had on a black armband in mourning for Medgar Evers, and I later learned that he was from Brooklyn.

JABBED STICKS

While those of us who had been arrested were sitting there and demonstrators were being rounded up, police near the truck kept jabbing at us to keep us herded inside.

Some of the women asked for shoes and handbags which they had lost in the streets, and the police picked them from the streets and threw them inside without the slightest regard for ownership.

FD-350 (4-3-62)

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DATE 03-05-2012

(Mount Clipping In Space Below)

Memphis Man Was Part Of Award-Winning Drills

WASHINGTON, D.C.—When the Andrew D. Turner Memorial Drill Team representing the U.S. Air Force Reserve Officers Training Corps detachment at Howard University here, scored top honors at the Fourth annual Sunshine City Drill meet at Tucson, Ariz., recently, a Memphis man participated.

Perry O. Withers is a member of Howard University's 25-man team. A graduate of Mitchell Road high school, he is the son of Mr. and Mrs. Ernest C. Withers, Sr. of 180 W. Brooks Rd. in Memphis, Tenn.

PERRY O. WITHERS

The Howard team, commanded by Cadet Lt. Jackson L. Davis, won first prize in overall performance and originality of its drills. Also, Commander Davis won first prize as the best drill commander in the competition. The only top award to escape the Howard team went to the Naval ROTC representing the University of New Mexico, adjudged the top team during inspection.

Howard's unit, which traveled the greatest distance of the 50 ROTC teams competing, also set a new scoring record for the four-year-old meet, scoring 799 out of a possible 850 points.

Howard's team was one of 28 units representing Army, Air Force, and Navy in the Drill-with-Arms division. An estimated 60,000 persons attended.

P 5 2-22-64
Tri State Defender

(Indicate page, name of newspaper, city and state.)

P 5
Tri State Defender
Memphis Tenn.

Date: 2-22-64
Edition:
Author:
Editor:
Title: Ernest C Withers
CS (Rac)
Character:
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Submitting Office:

FBI-Withers-908

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DATE 03-08-2011

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT
M E M O R A N D U M

TO: SAC [redacted] Date: 3/28/64

FROM: SA WILLIAM H. LAWRENCE

SUBJECT: [redacted]
FORMER PCI

It is noted that the 3/12/64 issue of the [redacted] 3/10/64 [redacted] had been dismissed as prefects at Memphis Juvenile Court after 4 Negro boys had escaped night of 3/8/64.

The paper reported that [redacted] and [redacted] Homicide Bureau, Memphis Police Department, had hired [redacted] on 1/17/64 as a [redacted] on an "emergency basis."

[redacted] said: "I knew [redacted] from the Police Station and had no idea he had a record."

It is noted that during the Spring and Summer of 1963 [redacted] volunteered considerable information to the writer concerning [redacted] activities.

1 - [redacted]
1 -
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1 -

ME [redacted]

He last volunteered any information on 8/19/63.

A review of his file reflects that long after he ceased contacting the writer he continued to [redacted] 10/4/63 by [redacted] Homicide Detective, Memphis Police Department, and around the end of November by E. C. WITHERS (CS(R)). He told [redacted] in October, 1963, [redacted]

On 3/13/64 [redacted] came to the office claiming he wanted to see the writer who was not in.

On 3/16/64 [redacted] contacted SA WILLIAM H. LAWRENCE at this office and volunteered the following information:

After last seeing SA LAWRENCE in August, 1963, [redacted] continued to [redacted] until late November, 1963, when he ceased attending.

He told conflicting stories as to why he attended the meetings and why he ceased attending; in that he said he was not actually in sympathy with [redacted] but was merely attending to obtain information re their activities; that he fully intended to apprise SA LAWRENCE of any good information he developed. He said he finally quit because he could not tolerate the arbitrary, capricious and demanding leadership of [redacted] Then he said that he left because [redacted] recently of [redacted] suspected him of being a police informant.

In fact, he said, [redacted] male Negro, and member of [redacted] and [redacted] suspected [redacted] of being a police informant.

[redacted] did work at the Baptist Hospital; that he lives in [redacted] in the [redacted] living with his mother, whose name is believed to be [redacted] He said [redacted] in recent months, has tended to draw

ME [redacted]

away from [redacted]
stringent [redacted]
which is insisted on by [redacted] In fact,
he claimed very few Negro males will stay in [redacted]
for these reasons.

(Note: This information re [redacted]
has been tentatively confirmed by PCI [redacted]
[redacted] to SAs [redacted] and the writer and
by [redacted] to SAs [redacted] and
WILLIAM H. LAWRENCE.)

[redacted] continued that [redacted] is
the husband of active female [redacted]
[redacted] who is a close friend of [redacted] wife of
Homicide Detective [redacted] says
he came to Memphis from [redacted] where he
was active in [redacted]

[redacted] said he has been to [redacted] meetings
since late November, 1963.

He said that [redacted] demanded that
[redacted] members [redacted]
[redacted] get out every two weeks and sell multiple
copies [redacted]
He claimed [redacted] received [redacted]
[redacted] and got a "cut" of profits from all
copies sold.

[redacted] said he could not afford to get out
on the streets and sell this paper as he was known to
too many people in Memphis.

Also, [redacted]

One of [redacted]
[redacted] She allegedly is originally from [redacted]
and was rooming in a yellow two-story house on [redacted]
[redacted] Then when [redacted] in the

ME [redacted]

Fall of 1963 found out she was running around with men, [redacted] took her into his house at [redacted] did work [redacted] at [redacted] a short-order cafe [redacted] does not know where [redacted] is now living. He said he did not know how she originally [redacted] but feels she would probably like to get out as she did not appear to be a devoted member.

For a short while, in the Fall of 1963, a [redacted]

With regard to [redacted] arrested by the Memphis Police Department in December, 1963, on [redacted] said that he definitely did not [redacted] (It is noted that among [redacted] possessions when arrested by the Police Department was [redacted], the reverse side containing the name of [redacted] lived at Trumpet Motel at the time he was arrested.

[redacted] said he knew little about [redacted]

With regard to the name [redacted] said that this was a name that he [redacted] He originally used the name of [redacted] but when he started getting [redacted] it became embarrassing for him to have mailmen deliver this; therefore, he adopted the name [redacted] aka [redacted]

He said that [redacted]

ME [redacted]

He said he had volunteered a lot of information to [redacted] as he hopes to ingratiate himself to [redacted] hoping to [redacted] for [redacted].

He said he was definitely not serving as an informant of the Memphis Police Department [redacted]

With regard to [redacted] he said that he had in the late summer of 1963 been romantically involved with her; that [redacted] reprimanded him for this, [redacted] with each other. He said that during the Fall of 1963, [redacted] did not to his knowledge attend [redacted]

[redacted] added that [redacted] openly accused [redacted] wife, [redacted]

[redacted] the Summer and Fall of 1963. One of them, believed by [redacted]

[redacted]

FBI Witners 915

MR [redacted]

[redacted] in the Fall of 1963 told [redacted] that he gets some financial support from [redacted] ERNEST C. WITHERS, photographer on Bede Street.

Neither [redacted] are known to have any gainful employment. They sell [redacted] They get $5 commission for every 100 copies of [redacted] sold in Memphis. Their wives, [redacted]

[redacted] December or late November, 1963; that he saw E. C. WITHERS, photographer, there.

[redacted] added that the following are people known to him [redacted] the Summer and Fall of 1963:

[redacted]

ME [redacted]

[redacted] had gone so far as to [redacted] to gain admission but [redacted] later told [redacted] he [redacted] wife did [redacted] Later, [redacted] accused him of [redacted]

[redacted] added that during the Fall of 1963 [redacted] used to come to his home at [redacted] and try to talk [redacted] into becoming [redacted] However, neither of them [redacted]

[redacted] he said recently told him that [redacted]

With regard to [redacted] claimed that around September or October, 1963, [redacted] as [redacted]

[redacted]

On one occasion around November, 1963, [redacted]

Also [redacted] He lived off [redacted]

[redacted] gave SA WILLIAM H. LAWRENCE a card reading as follows:

ME [redacted]

[redacted]

He said [redacted]

common-law wife of [redacted] currently in the Tenn. State Penitentiary on [redacted] and her daughter [redacted] He said he did not know if they were members but thought they were.

He said several members suspected [redacted] He said [redacted] was a close friend of [redacted] and he thinks it was [redacted]

[redacted] claimed that on Saturday, 3/14/64, a male Negro (FNU) [redacted] in his middle thirties, with curly hair, contacted him. [redacted] at E. H. Clarke and Brothers Company, 19 South Second Street, had previously been seen by [redacted] (It was [redacted] complained in the Summer of 1963 as having argued [redacted] the fruit stand operator on North Third Street across from the Dermon Building.)

He said he saw [redacted] on Mississippi Boulevard near Jeanette and [redacted]

He claimed [redacted] told him that he was a supporter [redacted]

FBI Withers 918

ME [redacted]

movement, [redacted] said he did not know if [redacted] was serious or "pulling his leg."

[redacted] claimed he had some written records [redacted] at his home and volunteered to bring them to the office and show same to the writer on 3/18/64. He did not appear and in view of his controversial background the writer will not initiate contact with [redacted] It is felt that this Bureau should accept all information which [redacted] volunteers but should never in any way give him the impression that it is asking him to do anything.

It is noted that practically all information furnished by [redacted] as set out in this memorandum has been independently corroborated through previous investigation. In reporting this information, it is felt [redacted] should be quoted openly in reports, as he is not an informat. He was told that all information volunteered by him would be made a matter of record.

FBI-Withers-919

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0-7 (Rev. 9-23-64)

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Date MAY 21 1965

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- [ ] Surep. by _____

- [ ] The enclosed is for your information. If used in a future report, [ ] conceal all sources, [ ] paraphrase contents.

- [ ] Enclosed are corrected pages from report of SA _____ dated _____

Remarks:

See changes under "Recommendation", page one.

FBI-Withers-920

Enc.
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FBI AUTOMATIC DECLASSIFICATION GUIDE
DATE: [illegible]

PROUD PARENTS AND GRADUATE — Mr. and Mrs. Ernest C. Withers, Sr., of 480 W. Brooks rd. were in Washington, D. C., recently for the commencement exercises of Howard University and to see Ernest, Jr., receive his degree with the class of 1965. Young Withers was commissioned into the United States Army Reserves and is seen here following his appointment as a second lieutenant. The graduate attended Manassas High School.

P1 6-19-65 Tri State Defender

P1
Tri State Defender
Memphis Tenn.

Issue:
6-19-65

Re: Ernest C. Withers

C.S.

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170-70-

DECLASSIFICATION AUTHORITY DERIVED FROM:
FBI AUTOMATIC DECLASSIFICATION GUIDE
ATE 03- 8-2012

SAC [redacted] 8/9/65

SA WILLIAM H. LAWRENCE

[redacted]

On 8/2/65 [redacted], advised SA WILLIAM H. LAWRENCE that a [redacted] a native of Fayette County, is currently an [redacted] She should be attending the [redacted] She is currently one of the girl friends of [redacted]

Her [redacted] is extremely jealous of [redacted]. Ironically, he said, she is the one who filed a paternity suit against [redacted] last year after he became romantically involved with one of the white female Cornell students doing volunteer civil rights work in Fayette County.

[redacted] accompanied this girl to her home in the East. Her father was aghast and upset. In order to get rid of [redacted] he bribed him by buying him a new car with the explicit understanding that [redacted] would return to fayette County and leave his daughter alone.

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1 - 170-70 Sub (E. C. WITHERS
WHL:gah
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DATE 03-13-2011

[redacted]

FIRST CONTRIBUTOR TO BOY SCOUTS . . . Ernest Withers, well known local photographer made the first contribution to the Chickasaw Council Boys Scouts of America at the South District Sustaining Membership Enrollment meeting last Thursday night. Whittier A. Sengstacke, General Manager of the Tri-State Defender is chairman of the drive.

P1 2-12-66
Tri State Defender

P1
2-12-66
Tri State Defender
Memphis, Tenn.

FBI-Withers-923

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FEB 1 1966
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170-70 - [redacted]

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DATE 03 08 2011

File - Serial Change
FD-5 (Rev. 12-[illegible])

File 170-70 Date

Class. Case No. Last Serial

☐ Pending ☐ Closed

Description of Serial	Date Charged
transferred to 170-70-Suf	

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Employee

RECHARGE Date

To From

Date charged

Employee

Location

DECLASSIFICATION AUTHORITY DERIVED FROM
THE AUTOMATIC DECLASSIFICATION GUIDE
DATE 03-28-2012

Man In The News

ERNEST WITHERS

Ernest Withers Offers For Constable Post

Ernest C. Withers, Sr., photo journalist, father and personable "Johnny on the Spot," is literally the "Man in the News." By virtue of his profession, Mr. Withers is always "where the action is."

Mr. Withers' varied experiences as staff photographer for the Tri-State Defender, area contributor for Johnson Publishing Company and free lance photographer have enabled him to acquire the finesse traditional with his work. He has covered many of the dramatic scenes in the Civil Rights struggle. These include the Emmett Till case, the Montgomery Bus Boycott, the Mack Park lynching in Mississippi, the murder of Rev. George Lee in Mississippi; the Gus Courts incident in Belzoni, Mississippi; and the desegregation of schools in Clinton, Tennessee and Little Rock, Arkansas.

Mr. Withers was at the gate of "Ole Miss" when James Meredith integrated that institution. He covered the funeral of Medgar Evers in Mississippi. He was also on hand to photographically record the historic Selma to Montgomery March and was approximately twenty five miles away when the shooting of Mrs. Viola Liuzzo occurred.

More recently, June 5, 1966, to be exact he was at the highway to wish James Meredith well as he began his fateful walk to Mississippi.

Our "Man in the News" possesses a warm sense of humor, an innate sense of timing and the ability to meet people well, stamp their faces and names indelibly in his memory and has thus brought himself to the attention of people in high places. Vice President Hubert H. Humphrey wrote Congressman George Grider from Washington after his visit to Memphis in April that Mr. Withers was the "best photographer I

(Continued On Page 2)

P1 6-25-66
Tri State Defender
Memphis, Tenn.

Re: ERNEST C. WITHERS
CONFIDENTIAL SOURCE

SEARCHED ____ INDEXED ____
SERIALIZED ____ FILED ____
JUN 27 1966
FBI—MEMPHIS

174-70

DEFENDER

Man In The News

(Continued From Page 1)

have ever seen," and that wherever he looked while visiting here, he, "saw that man." Governor Frank G. Clement has said that Mr. Withers is, "an excellent photographer" and "it is always good to be in his company."

Mr. Withers announced last week his candidacy for Constable Second Civil District. He bases his candidacy on his experience as one of the original nine Negroes hired as patrolmen by the Memphis Police Department in 1948. He and his partner Wendell Robinson made the first dramatic arrest by Negro patrolmen in the capturing of bandits who held up a liquor store forty minutes after the crime had been committed.

The "Man in the News", is married to the former Miss Dorothy Currie who was his sweetheart at Manassas High School from which they were both graduated. They are the parents of seven boys and one girl. Their children are Ernest Jr., twenty-two years old and a graduate of Howard University and presently a student at Howard University Law School; Perry, twenty years old and formerly a student at Howard University with plans to enter Memphis State University; Clarence Earl, nineteen years old and a student at Tennessee A & I State University; Wendell, fifteen and an eleventh grader at Mitchell Road; Dedrick, fourteen and in the ninth grade at Mitchell Daryl Lewis, thirteen and an eighth grader at Mitchell, Andrew Jerome, eleven years old in the sixth grade at Ford Road and the little girl, Rosalind nine years old and in the fourth grade at Ford Road.

Though Mr. Withers and his family live at 480 W. Brooks Rd., which is across town from Gospel Temple Baptist Church they maintain membership in the church in which he was reared and which is a few doors down the street from the home of his parents, Mr. and Mrs. A. E. Withers, 1062 Manassas. Mr. Withers and his family are all members of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

File - Serial Change Out
FD-5 (Rev. 12-[illegible])

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DATE 03-08-2012

File 170-70 Date
Class. Case No. Last Serial

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Description of Serial	Date Charged
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Employee

RECHARGE Date

To From

Date charged

Employee

Location

FBI-Withers-927

File - Serial Change Out
FD-5 (Rev. 12-[illegible])

DECLASSIFICATION AUTHORITY DERIVED FROM:
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DATE 03-30-2012

File 170-70 Date
Class. Case No. Last Serial

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Description of Serial	Date Charged
Transferred to 170-70-Sub	

Employee

RECHARGE Date

To From

Date charged

Employee

Location

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DATE 03 08 2012

VOTE — ELECT — VOTE
★★★★★★★★★★★★★★★★
ERNEST C. WITHERS
COUNTY COURT 2nd District
Gen. Election Aug. 4, 1966

A man willing to serve
Your vote and influence—I need

p. 11
The State Defender
Memphis Tenn.
Issue 7-15-66

Re Ernest C Withers
CS

SEARCHED ____ INDEXED ____
SERIALIZED ____ FILED ____
JUL 30 1966
FBI — MEMPHIS

170-70

DECLASSIFICATION AUTHORITY DERIVED FROM
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DATE 08-2012

The Press-Scimitar today endorses six candidates for membership on the 11-member Shelby County Court—the body that makes the policies of the county government, levies taxes (more than 80 per cent of which are paid by citizens of Memphis), and expends the funds collected.

* * *

We make no endorsement for the seats that represent the smaller incorporated towns in Shelby. There are five of these—Arlington, Bartlett, Collierville, Germantown and Millington. Candidates for these seats are all unopposed except in Germantown, where Bilbo G. Jones is running against incumbent Jimmie D. McIntyre.

* * *

For the other six seats we recommend the following candidates to the voters:

District 1, the northern half of the county, including approximately half of Memphis, in which two members are to be elected: A. ARTHUR HALLE JR., and MRS. SUNSHINE K. SNYDER.

District 2, the southern half of Shelby and Memphis, in which three members are to be elected: OSCAR H. EDMONDS JR., EDMUND ORGILL, and ERNEST C. WITHERS.

City of Memphis' seat: DOWNING PRYOR.

* * *

Ernest C. Withers

It is only fair that Memphis' Negro community, with more than a third of the city-county population, should have representation on the County Court. H. T. Lockard has served well in that capacity, but is not seeking re-election. It is fortunate that there is a Negro candidate in District 2 who measures up creditably to the requirements of the job as an individual as well as a member of his race.

This man is Ernest C. Withers, 44, who has struck out for himself and built up a commercial photography business, which includes much newspicture work. Withers was among the first group of Memphis' Negro police officers. He made a good record, and quit because with a large family—seven boys and one girl—he needed to make more money. He now has three boys in college.

Ernest Withers is an excellent sample of Memphis' fine Negro community . . . good-natured, reasonable, hard-working.

It is people like Withers in his race and their counterparts among white people who have provided the base for Memphis' progress—with good will—in racial matters.

Although he was beaten in a Jackson, Miss., fracas while doing his job of taking pictures, he has no bitterness. He has many friends among white people as well as Negroes.

He is especially interested in seeing that both white and Negro residents get needed fire protection, water and improved recreational facilities.

With his attitude, his character and his experience, The Press-Scimitar believes he would be an important asset to good government as a County Court member.

Page 6
7/29/66
Editorial
Press Scimitar
Memphis Tenn.

Re ERNEST C WITHERS
Confidential Source.

SEARCHED ____ INDEXED ____
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AUG 8 1966
FBI — MEMPHIS

170-70

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DATE 03-03-2012

Three Good Men Better Than One

(An Editorial)

Many Memphis citizens, both Negro and white, who have been active in building the healthy race relations which exist in Memphis, are deeply tempted by some Memphians to encourage single-shot voting in the District Two race for the County Court.

We are as determined to see good Negro representation on the County Court, and we think Jesse H. Turner (the man singled out for the single-shot vote) will serve all Memphians and Shelby Countians well.

But there are two other men in this race who are as well qualified as Mr. Turner and to fail to support them for the other two positions would be an unwarranted insult to them as well as a threat to the racial climate of this community.

These men are Edmund Orgill and Ernest C. Withers. Mr. Orgill has proved his concern for the Negro citizens of Memphis over many years. He contributed much to Memphis during the transition with his straight forwardness. He is certainly the most experienced man in the race, having served as Mayor, and on the Boards of the Memphis Transit Authority and the Light, Gas and Water Division.

The other candidate, Mr. Withers, also has proven himself to be a man of character and ability. He is a former police officer and is now a successful commercial photographer. He is especially interested in improved fire protection and recreational facilities.

It would be tragic if, in voting for only one man when there are three positions to be filled, Memphis Negroes should cause the other two positions to be won by persons who might use their power to block further racial progress in Memphis and undo much of the good which has been done.

Therefore, the Tri-State Defender urgently recommends that ALL Memphians vote for the following THREE candidates for the three County Court positions in District Two: Orgill, Turner and Withers. To do otherwise would be short-sighted, and dangerous.

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Tri State Defender
Memphis Tenn
8-6-66 issue.

Re Ernest C Withers
CS

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FBI—MEMPHIS

170-70-

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WITHERS AND BACKERS — Ernest Withers, well-known local photographer, received more encouragement for his campaign for a seat on the Shelby County Court on last Monday when he was endorsed by the Lincoln League and the Ministers Council for Political Leadership. Flanking him are Frank Scott, left, vice president of the Lincoln League, and Dr. A. E. Campbell, head of the Ministers' Council. Mr. Withers, who is No. 42 on the ballot, has also been endorsed by Ministers Mutual, the Ninth District Democratic club and the Unity League.

P1
Tri State Defender
Memphis Tenn
7-30-66
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Re Ernest C Withers
C.S.

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FBI — MEMPHIS

170-70 —

Cover Sheet for Informant Report or Material
FD-306 (3-21-58)

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Date received	Received from (name or symbol number)	Received by
7/28/66	[redacted]	SA WILLIAM H. LAWRENCE

Method of delivery (check appropriate blocks)

(X) in person ( ) by telephone ( ) by mail (X) orally ( ) recording device ( ) written by informant

If orally furnished and reduced to writing by Agent:

Date
Dictated 8/1/66 to R/D

Transcribed 8/8/66

Authenticated by informant

Date of Report 7/28/66

Date(s) of activity 7/25/66

Brief description of activity or material

Monday, 7/25/66, [redacted]

[redacted]

File where original is located if not attached

Remarks

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July 28, 1966

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0-7 Rev. 12-1-65)

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(Optional Form No. 10)

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT
M E M O R A N D U M

TO: SAC, [redacted] Date: 11/29/66

FROM: SA WILLIAM H. LAWRENCE

SUBJECT: [redacted]

[redacted]

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1 - 170-70 Sub (ERNEST C. WITHERS)
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170-70 [redacted]

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The [redacted] said they were disappointed in [redacted] as he was a potentially brilliant young man who was spoiled by his overzealous ambition for "white recognition."

[redacted]

Routing Slip
0-7 (Rev. 7-1-66)

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Date JAN 18 1967

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Date JUL 24 1967

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SERIALIZED.....FILED.....
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DATE 12-14-2000

OPTIONAL FORM NO. 10
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GSA GEN. REG. NO. 27
5010-106

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : SAC [redacted]

DATE: 12/4/67

FROM : SA WILLIAM H. LAWRENCE

SUBJECT: [redacted]

IS - C; RM

On the evening of Monday, 11/13/67, at the request of [redacted] and [redacted] Community Relations; Bureau, Memphis Police Department, SA WILLIAM H. LAWRENCE met with them and with [redacted] and [redacted] of the Inspectional Bureau, Memphis Police Department. This was in the office of [redacted] They had there [redacted] of [redacted] Memphis, a junior student at Memphis State University (MSU).

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b7C -1,4
b7D -1,4,6

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MB

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FBI AUTOMATIC DECLASSIFICATION GUIDE
DATE 02-15-2012

Withers Brothers In Military News

P3 3-23-68 Memphis World

Two sons of Mr. and Mrs. Ernest C. Withers, of Withers Studio on Beale, made military news items this week.

Clarence Earl Withers has left Fort Rucker in Alabama for a tour of Viet Nam. He is in aviation control.

Perry Withers has moved from Fort Huachuca in Arizona to Fort Still in Oklahoma where he is enrolled in officers candidate school.

CLARENCE WITHERS

PERRY WITHERS

P3
Memphis World
Memphis, Tenn
Issue 3-23-68

Index

Index

SEARCHED ____ INDEXED ____
SERIALIZED ____ FILED ____
MAR 25 1968
FBI — MEMPHIS

FBI-Withers-955

178-70

Routing Slip
0-7 (Rev. 3-31-67)

(Copies to Offices Checked)

TO: SAC,

- [ ] Albany
- [ ] Albuquerque
- [ ] Anchorage
- [ ] Atlanta
- [ ] Baltimore
- [ ] Birmingham
- [ ] Boston
- [ ] Buffalo
- [ ] Butte
- [ ] Charlotte
- [ ] Chicago
- [ ] Cincinnati
- [ ] Cleveland
- [ ] Columbia
- [ ] Dallas
- [ ] Denver
- [ ] Detroit
- [ ] El Paso
- [ ] Honolulu
- [ ] Houston
- [ ] Indianapolis
- [ ] Jackson
- [ ] Jacksonville
- [ ] Kansas City
- [ ] Knoxville
- [ ] Las Vegas
- [ ] Little Rock
- [ ] Los Angeles
- [ ] Louisville
- [ ] Memphis
- [ ] Miami
- [ ] Milwaukee
- [ ] Minneapolis
- [ ] Mobile
- [ ] Newark
- [ ] New Haven
- [ ] New Orleans
- [ ] New York City
- [ ] Norfolk
- [ ] Oklahoma City
- [ ] Omaha
- [ ] Philadelphia
- [ ] Phoenix
- [ ] Pittsburgh
- [ ] Portland
- [ ] Richmond
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- [ ] Salt Lake City
- [ ] San Antonio
- [ ] San Diego
- [ ] San Francisco
- [ ] San Juan
- [ ] Savannah
- [ ] Seattle
- [ ] Springfield
- [ ] Tampa
- [ ] Washington Field
- [ ] Quantico

TO LEGAT:

- [ ] Bern
- [ ] Bonn
- [ ] Buenos Aires
- [ ] Hong Kong
- [ ] London
- [ ] Manila
- [ ] Mexico, D.F.
- [ ] Ottawa
- [ ] Paris
- [ ] Rome
- [ ] Santo Domingo
- [ ] Tokyo

Date APR 3 1968

RE:

DECLASSIFICATION AUTHORITY DERIVED FROM
FBI AUTOMATIC DECLASSIFICATION GUIDE
DATE 02-08-2012

- [ ] For information
- [ ] Retention optional
- [x] For appropriate action
- [ ] Surep, by _____

- [ ] The enclosed is for your information. If used in a future report, [ ] conceal all sources, [ ] paraphrase contents.

- [ ] Enclosed are corrected pages from report of SA _____ dated _____

Remarks:

FBI-Withers-956

Enc./
Bufile
Urfile

DECLASSIFICATION AUTHORITY DERIVED FROM:
FBI AUTOMATIC DECLASSIFICATION GUIDE
DATE 02-26-2012

SAC (157-New) 4/5/68

SA HOWELL S. LOWE

THEODORE MANUEL, JR.
RM

At 10:00 p.m., 4/4/68, Lt. GEORGE FEATHERS, Inspectional Bureau, Memphis PD, telephonically contacted the writer and advised that an informant of the Memphis PD had just contacted him and advised that captioned subject, who is presently living on Mosby Street, Memphis, now calls himself THEODORE X or THEODORE D. X, and stated [redacted] on the afternoon of 4/4/68 that he is going to bring to Memphis Black Muslims out of Detroit.

It should be noted that [redacted] and [redacted] have previously furnished information regarding THEODORE MANUEL. This information has been set forth in LHM's dated 4/4/68 and 4/5/68 under the caption "Memphis Sanitation Workers Strike."

1-157-New
1-170-1040 [redacted]
1-157-1092 (Sanitation Workers Strike)
1-170-70 (MX 338-R)(Ghetto)
HSL:wp
(4)

170-70-[redacted]
SEARCHED INDEXED
SERIALIZED FILED
APR 5 1968
FBI — MEMPHIS

DECLASSIFICATION AUTHORITY DERIVED FROM

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
WASHINGTON 25, D. C.

6-5-68 339 GB

J. Edgar Hoover
Director.

The following FBI record, NUMBER 262 764 D, is furnished FOR OFFICIAL USE ONLY.

CONTRIBUTOR OF FINGERPRINTS	NAME AND NUMBER	ARRESTED OR RECEIVED	CHARGE	DISPOSITION
ONI & MID	Ernest Columbus Withers #4C-10	appl 9-30-41		
SOS Army	Ernest Columbus Withers #85-USM	appl 8-11-42		
Army	Ernest Columbus Withers Sr. #34713142	4-6-43		
PD Memphis Tenn	Ernest Columbus Withers #73240	9-4-59	Inv (Viol Bad Chk Law)	
PD Wash DC (prt ret)	Ernest Columbus Where #12134	appl FFP 5-29-68		
	Residence: 825 52nd street NE Wash DC as on prt 31[illegible]d			
	170-70 [redacted]			
			170-70 [redacted]	

SEARCHED ... INDEXED
SERIALIZED ... FILED
JUN 7 1968
FBI — MEMPHIS

FBI-Withers-957

Notations indicated by * ARE NOT BASED ON FINGERPRINTS IN FBI files. The notations are based on data formerly furnished this Bureau concerning individuals of the same or similar names or aliases and ARE LISTED ONLY AS INVESTIGATIVE LEADS.

16—70332-4 U. S. GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
WASHINGTON 25, D. C.

6-5-68 339 GB

J. Edgar Hoover
Director

1-BU

The following FBI record, NUMBER 262 764 D, is furnished FOR OFFICIAL USE ONLY.

CONTRIBUTOR OF FINGERPRINTS	NAME AND NUMBER	ARRESTED OR RECEIVED	CHARGE	DISPOSITION
A	FLASH BY BUREAU: If any information or inquiry received, Notify BFD Memphis, their file #[redacted], per inf rec 8-14-59. (ASN 34 713 142)			

THIS PAGE SHOULD NOT BE DISSEMINATED OUTSIDE FBI.

FBI-Withers-958

Notations indicated by * ARE NOT BASED ON FINGERPRINTS IN FBI files. The notations are based on data formerly furnished this Bureau concerning individuals of the same or similar names or aliases and ARE LISTED ONLY AS INVESTIGATIVE LEADS.

U. S. GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20537

6-5-68 339 GB

2-BU

The following FBI record, NUMBER 262 764 D, is furnished FOR OFFICIAL USE ONLY. Information shown on this Identification Record represents data furnished FBI by fingerprint contributors. WHERE FINAL DISPOSITION IS NOT SHOWN OR FURTHER EXPLANATION OF CHARGE IS DESIRED, COMMUNICATE WITH AGENCY CONTRIBUTING THOSE FINGERPRINTS.

CONTRIBUTOR OF FINGERPRINTS	NAME AND NUMBER	ARRESTED OR RECEIVED	CHARGE	DISPOSITION
CC-FBI Memphis, Tenn				

FBI-Withers-959

Notations indicated by * are NOT based on fingerprints in FBI files but are listed only as investigative leads as being possibly identical with subject of this record.

John Edgar Hoover
Director

DECLASSIFIED BY AUTHORITY DERIVED FROM
FBI AUTOMATIC DECLASSIFICATION GUIDE
DATE 02-27-2017

OPTIONAL FORM NO. 10
MAY 1962 EDITION
GSA GEN. REG. NO. 27
5010-108

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : SAC [redacted] b7D -4 DATE: 10/2/68

FROM : SA WILLIAM H. LAWRENCE

SUBJECT: [redacted]

On 9/19/68 [redacted] was interviewed at the Memphis Police Department by SA WILLIAM H. LAWRENCE, and in the presence of Lts. [redacted] of the Intelligence Unit, Memphis Police Department. [redacted] was interviewed at his request, he at the time being a prisoner in the Memphis City Jail.

Attached hereto for each of the files listed below and for instant file is a copy of FD-302 dated 9/25/68 re that interview.

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b5 -4
b6 -
b7C -4
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1 - 170-70 (ME 338-R(Ghetto) (Enc.1)
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170-70 - [redacted]
SEARCHED ... INDEXED ...
SERIALIZED ... FILED ...
OCT 7 1968
FBI — MEMPHIS

WHL:gmh (42)

FBI-Withers-960

ME

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CLASSIFICATION AUTHORITY DERIVED FROM:
FBI AUTOMATIC DECLASSIFICATION GUIDE
DATE OF ORIGIN:

FD-302 (Rev. 4-15-64)

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

1

Date 9/25/68

[redacted] was interviewed in the offices of the Intelligence Bureau, Memphis, Tennessee, Police Department, at his request. At the time he was a prisoner in the Memphis City Jail. He was interviewed in the presence of Lts. [redacted] of the Police Department, Intelligence Bureau.

[redacted] orally volunteered the following informat

[redacted]

[redacted]

FBI-Withers-962

On 9/19/68 at Memphis, Tennessee File # Memphis [redacted]

by SA WILLIAM H. LAWRENCE:gmh Date dictated 9/23/68

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

MB
2

ME
3

b6 -2
b7C -2
b7E -1

b6 -2,3,4
b7C -2,3,4
b7D -1

b6 -2
b7C -2
b7E -1

b6 -2,3
b7C -2,4
b7E -1

MB
4

b6 -2,3,4
b7C -2,3,4
b7D -1

b6 -2,3,4
b7C -2,3,4
b7D -1

b6 -2,3,4
b7C -2,3,4
b7D -1

302
5

b7

b7

b7

b2
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b7D -4

b7E

b6 -4
b7C -4
b7E -1

b2 -4
b7C -4
b7E -4

b6 -4
b7C -4
b7E -4

ME
7

MS
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b7E -1

b7E -1

b7E -1

b7E -1,3,4
b7E -2,3,
b7E

DECLASSIFICATION AUTHORITY DERIVED FROM
FBI AUTOMATIC DECLASSIFICATION GUIDE
DATE 02 27 2012

OPTIONAL FORM NO. 10
MAY 1962 EDITION
GSA GEN. REG. NO. 27
5010-106

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : SAC (157-1067) DATE: 2/7/69

FROM : SA WILLIAM H. LAWRENCE

SUBJECT: INVADERS, aka.
RM

On 2/5/69 Detective [redacted] Intelligence Bureau, Memphis, Tennessee, Police Department, furnished the writer with a copy of Police Department memorandum dated 1/31/69 captioned, "Report From Agent 501 for January 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27,1969." A Xerox copy of same is attached to each copy of this memorandum.

Enc. 1
1 - 157-1067
1 - 157-1423 (BUF)
1 - 157-556 (Possible Racial Violence, Major Urban Areas)
1 - 157-1714 [redacted]
1 - 157-1351
1 - 157-1739
1 - 157-1613
1 - 157-1626
1 - 157-1647
1 - 157-1553
1 - 157-
1 - 157-1180
1 - 157-1564
1 - 157-1230
1 - 157-1472
1 - 157-1583
1 - 157-1563
1 - 157-1646
1 - 170-98 [redacted]
1 - 157-1675 [redacted]
1 - 100-4394
1 - 100-4528
1 - 157-166 (SCLC)
1 - 44-1987 (MURKIN)
1 - 157-1548 [redacted]
(1) - 170-70 (ME 338-R)
1 - 157-DEAD [redacted]
1 - 157-1752
1 - 157-1121
(copies continued page 2)
WHL:gmh (37)

170-70-[redacted]

[redacted]

b7D -1

COPIES (continued):

1 - [redacted]
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b6 -4
b7C -
b7E -1, -4

DECLASSIFICATION AUTHORITY DERIVED FROM
FBI AUTOMATIC DECLASSIFICATION GUIDE
DATE 03 23 2012

Inspector [redacted]
Intelligence Bureau

Det [redacted]
Intelligence Bureau

January 31, 1969

Report from [redacted] for
January 21, 22, 23, 24, 25,
26, 27, 1969

[redacted]

1-40-0000
1-40-0002
1-40-0005
1-40-0008
1-40-0023
1-40-0021
1-40-0009
1-40-0030
1-40-40-006

b7D-6

[redacted]

b6
b7C
b7D-6

[redacted]

b6
b7C
b7D-3
b7D-6

[redacted]

b6
b7C
b7D-3
b7D-6

FBI-Withers-974

[redacted]

[redacted]

[redacted]

[redacted]

[redacted]

[redacted]

[redacted]

Page 4 - Report from [redacted] dos January 21,22,23,24,25,26,27, 1963

[redacted]

[redacted]

[redacted]

[redacted]

[redacted]

[redacted]

[redacted]

[redacted]

[redacted]

[redacted]

[redacted]

[redacted]

DECLASSIFICATION AUTHORITY DERIVED FROM:
FBI AUTOMATIC DECLASSIFICATION GUIDE
DATE [illegible]

OPTIONAL FORM NO. 10
MAY 1962 EDITION
GSA GEN. REG. NO. 27
5010-106

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : SAC [redacted]

DATE: 2/5/69

FROM : SA WILLIAM H. LAWRENCE

SUBJECT: [redacted]

On 1/30/69 Lt [redacted] Intelligence Bureau, Memphis Police Department, furnished the writer with a copy of Memphis Police Department memorandum undated, captioned, "Report [redacted] for January 22 and 23, 1969." A Xerox copy of same is attached to each copy of this memorandum.

Enc. 1
1 - [redacted]
(Co[redacted]
WHL:gmr (42)

170-70

170-70-[redacted]

FBI Withers 981

[redacted]

COPIES CONTINUED:

1 - [redacted]
1 - 170-70 (ME 338-R)
1 - [redacted]
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b2
b7C
b7D

F.B.I.

DEPARTMENTAL COMMUNICATION

ASD 4

DECLASSIFICATION AUTHORITY DERIVED FROM:
FBI AUTOMATIC DECLASSIFICATION GUIDE
DATE 12-27-2012

TO: *Inspector* [redacted]
Security & Intelligence Bureaus

FROM: [redacted]
Intelligence Section.

SUBJECT: *Report* [redacted] *for January 22, 1969*
1 1-23-69

DATE:

1 - 30 -0000 *CONTROL FILE.*
1 - 40, -0000 *CONTROL FILE*
1- 30-0006
1- #30-0007
1- 30-0022
1= 40-0039
1 - 40-0009
1 - 40-0008
1 - 40-0002
1- 40-0006
1 - 40-0005
1- 50-0001
1- 40-0020
1- 40-0021
1- 50-0010
1 - 40-0001
1- 40-0023

[redacted]

Report [redacted] *January 22, 1969--to SAM 1/23/69.*

FBI-Withers-984

[redacted]

[redacted]

[redacted]

[redacted]

[redacted]

[redacted]

Report [redacted] *January 22, 1969 to SAM 1/23/69*

[redacted]

[redacted]

[redacted]

DECLASSIFIED BY FBI AUTHORITY DERIVED FROM
FBI AUTOMATIC DECLASSIFICATION GUIDE
DATE 03 07 2012

REPRODUCTION OF MATERIAL FORM

CONGRESSIONAL INQUIRY UNIT

DATE 7/20/78

The following material has been reproduced for excising and review at FBIHQ and/or delivery to the House Select Committee on Assassinations:
(See Bufile 62-117290; re HSCA request dated 7/6/78

FILE NO. 170-90

SECTION [redacted]

SERIALS [redacted] through [redacted]

(except following serials not in file on this date:)

EBF or BULKY:

Number of copies made 1 By T.C.

RETAIN THIS FORM AS TOP SERIAL

DECLASSIFICATION AUTHORITY DERIVED FROM:
FBI AUTOMATIC DECLASSIFICATION GUIDE
DATE 10-06-2011

WELCOME HOME — Members of the Ernest Withers family were at the Memphis Airport last Thursday to welcome home from Vietnam, Specialist First Class Sergeant Earl "Sally" Withers. From left are Ernest Withers, Jr., recently discharged from the Army as a first lieutenant; Mrs. Withers, Specialist Withers, Mr. Withers, well-known photographer, and Andrew Jerome Withers. Kneeling in front is Rosalind Withers, youngest, and only girl in family of eight children.

p 1 Tri State Defender
Memphis Tenn 3-8-69

FBI-Withers-988

170-70

DECLASSIFICATION AUTHORITY DERIVED FROM:
FBI AUTOMATIC DECLASSIFICATION GUIDE
DATE 02-25-2011

OPTIONAL FORM NO. 10
MAY 1962 EDITION
GSA GEN. REG. NO. 27
5010-106

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : SAC [redacted] b7D

DATE: 3/17/69

FROM : SA WILLIAM H. LAWRENCE

SUBJECT: [redacted], aka [redacted]
RM

On 3/12/69 Det. [redacted], Intelligence Unit, Memphis Police Department, Memphis, Tenn., furnished to the writer a copy of Police Department memorandum dated 3/12/69, entitled, [redacted]," a report from Police Department [redacted] for activities 3/11/69. [redacted] A Xerox copy of same is attached to each copy of this memorandum.

Enc. 1
1 - [redacted]
1 - [redacted]
1 - [redacted]
1 - [redacted]
1 - [redacted]
1 - [redacted]
1 - [redacted]
1 - [redacted]
1 - [redacted]
1 - 170-70 (ME 338-R)
1 - [redacted]
1 - [redacted]
1 - [redacted]
1 - [redacted]
1 - [redacted]
1 - [redacted]
1 - [redacted]
1 - [redacted]
1 - [redacted]
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1 - [redacted]

WHL:gmh
(21)

SEARCHED
SERIALIZED
MAR 25 1969
FBI — MEMPHIS

DECLASSIFICATION AUTHORITY DERIVED FROM
FBI AUTOMATIC DECLASSIFICATION GUIDE
DATE 02 23 201

[redacted]

[redacted]

[redacted]

March 12,1969

The following is a report from [redacted]
for March 11,1969.

At 1:45pm [redacted]

At 7:30pm those present at [redacted] were:

[redacted]

[redacted]

[redacted]

[redacted]

b6
b7C
b7E

DECLASSIFIED AUTHORITY DERIVED FROM:
FBI AUTOMATIC DECLASSIFICATION GUIDE
FOIPA 1.2-, 4-2012

OPTIONAL FORM NO. 10
MAY 1962 EDITION
GSA GEN. REG. NO. 27
5010-106

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : SAC, ST. LOUIS

DATE: 4/3/69

FROM: SAC, MEMPHIS [redacted] (P)

SUBJECT: [redacted] aka [redacted]
RM

On 3/21/69 Detective [redacted] Intelligence Bureau, Memphis, Tenn., PD, furnished to writer copy of

2 - ST. LOUIS (RM)
2 - SPRINGFIELD (RM)
40 - MEMPHIS
(1 - [redacted]
(1 - 170-70) (ME 338-R)
(1 - [redacted], aka [redacted]

170-70 [redacted]
SEARCHED ___ INDEXED ___
SERIALIZED ___ FILED ___
APR 4 1969
FBI — MEMPHIS

(Memphis copies continued on page 2)

[redacted]

[redacted] memorandum dated 3/21/69 entitled, [redacted] aka [redacted], setting forth a [redacted] for 3/19/69 activities. ([redacted] reliable, protect identity.)

A Xerox copy of same is attached to each copy of this communication.

Copies of this memorandum are being sent to St. Louis and Springfield in view of the fact the [redacted] are operating in the St. Louis, Mo., and East St. Louis, Ill., area.

(Memphis copies continued)

(1 - [redacted]
(1 - [redacted]
(1 - [redacted]
(1 - [redacted]
(1 - [redacted]
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(1 - [redacted]
(1 - [redacted]
VHL:mnr
(44)

DECLASSIFICATION AUTHORITY DERIVED FROM:
FBI AUTOMATIC DECLASSIFICATION GUIDE
DATE 02-13-2012

[redacted]

[redacted]

[redacted]

MARCH 21,1969

The following is a report from [redacted] for March 19,1969.

At 7:30pm those present at [redacted] were;

[redacted]

WITTERS (BC from Winters Studio)

[redacted]

Unsubs: [redacted]

[redacted]

b7E-4
b7E-6

[redacted]

b7C
b7C-3,4
b7E

b7D -5

b6 -4
b7C -4
b7D -4

b6 -
b7C -
b7D -

b7C -3,
b7D -6

New Orleans

b6 -1,4
b7C -3,4
b7D -6

b6 -1,4
b7C -3,4
b7D -3,6

b6 -1,4
b7C -3,4
b7D -6

DECLASSIFICATION AUTHORITY DERIVED FROM
FBI AUTOMATIC DECLASSIFICATION GUIDE

OPTIONAL FORM NO. 10
MAY 1962 EDITION
GSA GEN. REG. NO. 27

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : SAC, MEMPHIS [redacted] DATE: 5/8/69

FROM : SA WILLIAM H. LAWRENCE

SUBJECT: [redacted] aka,
[redacted]
RM

1 - [redacted] aka, [redacted]
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170-70 [redacted]

1969

(See page 2 for continuation of copies)

FBI Withers 998

[redacted]

Copies continued from page 1

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Attached to each copy of this memo is a xerox copy of Memphis PD Intelligence Bureau memo dated 4/23/69 captioned [redacted]. This is a report from [redacted] for the dates 4/18,19,20,21/69, and was furnished to SA WILLIAM H. LAWRENCE on 4/29/69 by Det. [redacted] Intelligence Bureau, Memphis PD.

On 5/5/69, Det [redacted] was advised he had learned that [redacted], boyfriend of [redacted] is [redacted] male Negro, aka, [redacted], Memphis PD # [redacted] residence [redacted] born [redacted] or [redacted] father [redacted] (deceased), step-father [redacted], mother [redacted] He is considered a pimp and hustler and dope pusher, and has always been a flashy dresser. He may be the [redacted] involved as a driver in the recent First National Bank robbery, who drove the robbers to Nashville for $400. Will talk to SA O. V. JOHNSON re this matter.

RECOMMENDATION:

Open and assign a 157 New re [redacted] aka, [redacted]

FBI-Withers-999

[redacted]

DECLASSIFICATION AUTHORITY DERIVED FROM:
FBI AUTOMATIC DECLASSIFICATION GUIDE
DATE 02-24-2011

[redacted]

[redacted]

April 23,1969

The following is a report from [redacted] for April 18,19,20,21,1969.

On Friday April 18,1969 at 7:45pm at [redacted] those present were. [redacted]

[redacted]

[redacted]

[redacted]

At 10:00am Informant was [redacted]

[redacted]

[redacted]

[redacted]

FBI-Withers-1000

JCD/hae

b7E -9

b7E -9

b7E -9

DECLASSIFICATION AUTHORITY DERIVED FROM:
FBI AUTOMATIC DECLASSIFICATION GUIDE
DATE 08-27-2012

8/1/69

AIRTEL

TO: SAC, CHICAGO

FROM: SAC, MEMPHIS [redacted] (P)

SUBJECT: [redacted]
RM

Re Memphis airtel to Chicago, 7/28/69.

Chicago discontinue investigation requested. On 7/31/69 Lt. [redacted] Intelligence Bureau, Memphis Police Department, advised that a Memphis bonding company located [redacted] in Chicago and returned him to Memphis. He is currently confined to Shelby County Jail on his homicide charge. Refuses to tell police anything regarding his activities or whereabouts since 6/4/69.

Airtel 2 - Chicago
(3) - Memphis [redacted]
(1-170-70-HE 338-R)

Teletype [redacted]

WHL:mjh
A.M. (5)

A.M.S.D.

Spec. Del.

Reg. Mail

Registered

SEARCHED

SERIALIZED

INDEXED

FILED

FBI-Withers-1007

170-70 - [redacted]

DECLASSIFICATION AUTHORITY DERIVED FROM:
FBI AUTOMATIC DECLASSIFICATION GUIDE
DATE: 07-27-2012

OPTIONAL FORM NO. 10
MAY 1962 EDITION
GSA GEN. REG. NO. 27
5010-108

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : SAC [redacted]

DATE: 9/11/69

FROM : SA HOWELL S. LOWE

SUBJECT: [redacted]
RM

On 9/8/69 Inspector [redacted] Intelligence Unit, Memphis, Tenn., PD, made available to the writer a copy of a report received from Memphis PD [redacted] for activities on 8/29-30/69. A copy of this report is being attached to each copy of this memorandum.

1 - [redacted]
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1 - 170-70 (ME 338-R)
1 - [redacted]
1 -
1 -
1 -
HSL:mnr
(14)

170-70

SEARCHED ____ INDEXED ____
SERIALIZED ____ FILED ____
SEP 1 1969
FBI — MEMPHIS

DECLASSIFICATION AUTHORITY DERIVED FROM:
FBI AUTOMATIC DECLASSIFICATION GUIDE
DATE 02-27-2012

[redacted]

September 5, 1969

Report from [redacted]

The following is a report from [redacted] for August 29 and 30, 1969.

On August 29, 1969, at 7:30PM, Source went to [redacted]

At [redacted], Source saw [redacted]

On August 30, 1969, Saturday, at 10:45AM, at [redacted]

1. [redacted]
2. [redacted]
3. [redacted]
4. [redacted]
5. ERNEST WHITHERS
6. [redacted]

There were also three (3) male white newsmen present. [redacted]

[redacted] along with [redacted] and ERNEST WHITHERS, [redacted]

Source states that [redacted]

At 7:30PM, [redacted] and [redacted] were seen to leave [redacted]

FD-64 (Rev. 7-10-64)

DECLASSIFICATION AUTHORITY DERIVED FROM
FBI AUTOMATIC DECLASSIFICATION GUIDE
DATE 12-27-2012

(Mount Clipping in Space Below)

[illegible] be [illegible] civil rights work in the [illegible] during the sixties [illegible] Organization [illegible] activities [illegible] on Thursday [illegible] at the Sheraton [illegible]

[illegible] be honored are [illegible] A. Smith, executive secretary of the Memphis Branch of the NAACP; Criminal Court Judge C. Coker [illegible] Rev. Ralph Jackson, [illegible] Alabama Safety [illegible] of the African Methodist Episcopal Church [illegible] of the Memphis [illegible] of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, and [illegible] C. Fikers, who has [illegible] photographic coverage of all major civil rights events [illegible] than a decade.

[illegible] Rev. D.B. Harris, president of the organization, said that the speaker and other distinguished guests will be announced at a later date.

(Indicate page, name of newspaper, city and state.)

Date: Tuesday Evening
Edition: 3/21/70
Author:
Editor:
Title: 14 7

Character:
or
Classification:
Submitting Office

☐ Being Investigated

130-70

FBI-Withers-1010

FBI AUTOMATIC DECLASSIFICATION GUIDE
DATE 11-27-2012

Arthur Earl Withers Is Buried; Leader In North Memphis Area

Pl Tri State Defender 1-3-70

Funeral services for Arthur Earl Withers, father of well-known Memphis photographer Ernest C. Withers, were held last Sunday afternoon at the Gospel Temple Baptist Church. The eulogy was delivered by the Rev. Neasbie Alston, pastor of the church.

Mr. Withers, who was 80 and lived at 1002 N. Manassas st., died at the Lynwood Convalescent Home on Saturday night, Dec. 20, after a long illness.

Before his retirement several years ago, he had been employed for more than 30 years with the Motor Vehicle section of the Memphis Post Office. He was a civic and church leader in his community for more than 50 years.

ARTHUR E. WITHERS SR.

A native of Holly Springs, Miss., where he was born May 5, 1889, Mr. Withers was the son of Mr. and Mrs. Christopher Columbus Withers and the grandson of Silas Withers, a slave who ran away and served with the Union Army.

His grandfather, against the advice of friends, came back to the plantation after the Civil War to visit his family and was taken into custody by associates of his former master. He was never seen again.

However, bits of the clothing he was wearing when last seen were found in a place called Pigeon Roost Bottom.

Mr. Withers was educated at the Woodstock Training School and served in France with the 368 Infantry Regiment during World War I. After the war he was a truck driver for various firms until he went to work for the Post Office.

At the age of 28, he was baptized under the pastorage of the late Rev. L. A. Kemp and was actively engaged in church work for the next 52 years of his life, serving in the Sunday School as superintendent and singing in the choirs of Jackson Avenue, later Cummings Street Baptist Church, and then Gospel Temple Baptist Church.

His first wife, the mother of his children, was Mrs. Pearl Withers, who died in 1930. The following year he was married to Mrs. Minnie Withers, who survives him.

Giving expressions at the funeral on Sunday were Arthur Phillips, on behalf of the Sunday School; C. W. Stallworth on behalf of the church; Mrs. Artie Nelson on behalf of neighbors.

Also Mrs. Lillian P. Davis, Lone Star Club; Sam Brown, U. S. Postal Service, and his former ministers, the Revs. W. L. Varnado and Eugene Waller.

A family eulogy was given by his grandson, Ernest C. Withers, Jr.

Aside from his widow, he is survived by two daughters, Mrs. Alice Jackson of Richmond, Calif., and Mrs. Vivian Peters of Chicago; three sons: Dr. J. B. Withers, a pharmacist and Jacob O. Withers of Washington, D.C., and Ernest C. Withers, Sr., of 480 W. Brooks rd.; 32 grandchildren and 19 great-grandchildren.

Ten of Mr. Withers' grandsons served as pallbearers. They were Ernest C. Withers, Jr., Perry O. Withers, Wendell J. Withers, Daryll L. Withers, James B. Withers, Jr., Noble Earl Withers, Clarence Earl Withers, Deadrick J. Withers, Andrew J. Withers and Ernest Harvey Jackson.

Interment was at 12 noon on Monday, Dec. 29 at National Cemetery with the Rev. D. E. Herring offering the graveside prayer.

The R. S. Lewis and Sons Funeral Home was in charge of arrangements.

Above is Future of ME 338 R

WR

SEARCHED
SERIALIZED
JAN 5 1970
FBI — MEMPHIS

170-70

DECLASSIFICATION AUTHORITY DERIVED FROM:
DET AUTOMATIC DECLASSIFICATION GUIDE
DATE 02-22-2011

OPTIONAL FORM NO. 10
MAY 1962 EDITION
GSA GEN. REG. NO. 27
5010-106

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : SAC [redacted]

DATE: 4/8/70

FROM : SA HOWELL S. LOWE

SUBJECT: [redacted]
RM

On 4/2/70 Lt. [redacted] Intelligence Unit, Memphis, Tenn., PD, furnished a copy of a report from Memphis PD [redacted] for activities of captioned group on 3/31/70. A copy of this report is being attached to each copy of this memorandum.

1 - [redacted]
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1 - 170-70 (ERNEST WITHERS)
1 - [redacted]
1 -
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170-70-[redacted]

APR 9 1970
FBI — MEMPHIS

HSL:mnr
(15)

[redacted] [redacted]

DECLASSIFICATION AUTHORITY DERIVED FROM:
FBI AUTOMATIC DECLASSIFICATION GUIDE

APRIL 2,1970

[redacted]

The following is a report from [redacted]
for March , 31,1970.

At 12 noon on March 31 [redacted] and [redacted]

[redacted]

[redacted] and ROACH were followed to the

[redacted]

At 2:30pm [redacted]

At 2:40pm [redacted]

[redacted]

At 3:30pm [redacted]

[redacted]

At 4:30pm [redacted] and [redacted]

[redacted]

It was learned that [redacted] and [redacted] went

[redacted]

At 7:00pm [redacted]

[redacted]

[redacted]

At 10:30pm [redacted]

[redacted]

[redacted]

COPIES :
1- Director
1- Chief
MW/mae

OPTIONAL FORM NO. 10
MAY 1962 EDITION
GSA FPMR (41 CFR) 101-11.6
FBI/DOJ DECLASSIFICATION AUTHORITY DERIVED FROM
FBI AUTOMATIC DECLASSIFICATION GUIDE
DATE: 12-27-2012

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : SAC 170-70 DATE: 6/16/70

FROM : SA HOWELL S LOWE

SUBJECT: Ernest C. Withers
AI

On 6/15/70 LT. [redacted] Intelligence Unit, Memphis, Tennessee Police Department furnished the attached information to SA HOWELL S LOWE.

SEARCHED 170-70 [redacted]
SERIALIZED INDEXED
FILED
JUN 17 1970
FBI — MEMPHIS

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

Driver's License No 2386542

DRIVER'S ARREST AND CONVICTION RECORD

MEMPHIS POLICE DEPARTMENT

Date of Birth 8-7-22

Name Withers, Ernest C. Age 43 Sex & Race MC

Address 480 W. Brooks Rd.

Remarks	Date of Issuance	Ticket Number	Date of Disp'sn	Receipt Number	Control Number	Violation Code No.	Cash or Ck.	Amount of Penalty
1-5-66	4-20-66	804792	11-5-66			1613	1	[illegible]
-5-66	11-4-66	27101	11-5-66			1077	1	[illegible]
-25-67	9-20-67	947057	9-25-67			175	3	[illegible]

WARRANT ISSUED

DRIVER'S LICENSE NO 2386542

DRIVER'S ARREST AND CONVICTION RECORD

MEMPHIS POLICE DEPARTMENT

DATE OF BIRTH 6-7-22

NAME Withers, Ernest Collumbus AGE 41 SEX & RACE MC

ADDRESS 480 W. Brooks Rd. 940 W. Brooks Rd. 460 W. Brooks Rd.

REMARKS	DATE OF ISSUANCE	TICKET NUMBER	DATE OF DISP'N	RECEIPT NUMBER	CONTROL NUMBER	VIOLATION CODE NO	CASH IN	AMOUNT OF PENALTY
-31-64	12-15-63	584615	7-31-64			1666	T	[illegible]
-31-64	7-18-64	632675	7-31-64			1694	T	[illegible]
-31-64	7-30-64	56453	7-31-64			2777	T	[illegible]
-4-65	12-30-64	672492	1-4-65			1722	T	DIS
	11-13-64	647957	1-4-65	400		1661	3.4	10
2-3-65	8-31-65	710935	1-3-66			1727	1	[illegible]
2-3-65	10-15-65	753060	1-3-66			1621	1	[illegible]
2-3-65	12-2-65	31290	1-3-66			1727	1	[illegible]

OPTIONAL FORM NO. 10
MAY 1962 EDITION
GSA FPMR (41 CFR) 101-11.6

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

DECLASSIFICATION AUTHORITY DERIVED FROM:
FBI AUTOMATIC DECLASSIFICATION GUIDE
DATE 02-23-2012

TO : SAC 170-70

DATE: 7/6/70

FROM : SA HOWELL S LOWE

SUBJECT: Ernest C. Withers,
BI

On 7/6/70 LT. [redacted] Intelligence Unit, Memphis, Tennessee Police Department furnished the attached information to SA HOWELL S LOWE.

170-70 [redacted]

SEARCHED ____ INDEXED ____
SERIALIZED ____ FILED ____
JUL 6 1970
FBI — MEMPHIS

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

5010-108

LAST NAME OF PERSON ARRESTED	FIRST	MIDDLE	DATE OF BIRTH
Withers	Ernest	Columbus	8-7-22

RESIDENCE NO. AND STREET CITY AND STATE IF NOT IN MEMPHIS	SEX	RACE	ALIASES, NICKNAMES, ETC.
480 W. Brooks Road	M	C	

DATE OF ARREST	VIOLATION	REC. OF ARR. NO.	CITY COURT DISP.	CRIM. FILE
7-30-64	Failure to Answer Traffic Summons	56453	Forf'd $11	
12-2-65	Failure to Answer Traffic Summons	31290	Dismissed	
11-4-66	Failed to ans traffic Summons	29101	Forf 11.	

ARREST RECORD - MEMPHIS POLICE DEPARTMENT

OPTIONAL FORM NO. 10
MAY 1962 EDITION
GSA GEN. REG. NO. 27

DECLASSIFICATION AUTHORITY DERIVED FROM
FBI AUTOMATIC DECLASSIFICATION GUIDE
DATE 02-27-2012

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : SAC [redacted]

DATE: 6/24/70

FROM : SA HOWELL S. LOWE

SUBJECT: [redacted]
RM

On 6/19/70 Lt. [redacted] Intelligence Unit, Memphis Police Department, made available to the writer a copy of a report received by Lt [redacted] from Memphis Police Department [redacted] for activities of captioned organization on 6/17/70. A copy of this report is being attached to each copy of this memorandum.

1- [redacted]
1- [redacted]
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1- [redacted]
1-170-70 - ME 338-R
1- [redacted]
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HSL:wp
(14)

170-70-[redacted]
SEARCHED ... INDEXED
SERIALIZED ... FILED
JUN 25 1970
FBI — MEMPHIS

DECLASSIFICATION AUTHORITY DERIVED FROM:
FBI AUTOMATIC DECLASSIFICATION GUIDE
DATE 02-27-2012

FBI

[redacted] [redacted]

JUNE 18, 1970

[redacted]

The following is a report from [redacted] for June 17, 1970.

9:30 PM SOHROS went to [redacted] taking [redacted] including:

[redacted] [redacted]

[redacted] from Arkansas (West Memphis)

[redacted] (LNU)

[redacted] (LNU)

10 young FNs, ages 14-17

FBI-Withers-1021

[redacted]

[redacted]

[redacted]

[redacted]

[redacted] REPORT FOR JUNE 17, 1970

[redacted]

[redacted]

[redacted]

[redacted]

[redacted]

[redacted]

[redacted]

[redacted]

[redacted]

[redacted]

[redacted] REPORT FOR JUNE 17, 1970

LOUISVILLE FREE PRESS

SOURCE stated [redacted]

[redacted]

[redacted]

[redacted]

12:45 am SOURCE left [redacted]

CC:
1--Director
1--Chief

JCD/fo

DECLASSIFIED BY [redacted]
FBI AUTOMATIC DECLASSIFICATION GUIDE
DATE 03-27-2012

LT. [redacted] DET. [redacted]

JANUARY 7, 1970

[redacted]

The following is a report from [redacted] for Wednesday, January 6, 1970.

1:15 PM At [redacted] Those present were:

[redacted]

They were suppose to go to Stax Recording but did not.

FAMILY AT [redacted]

A [redacted] had called [redacted]

[redacted]

WITHERS STUDIO

2:00 PM [redacted] Those present were:

EARNEST WITHERS [redacted]

[redacted]

[redacted]

[redacted]

[redacted]

[redacted]

[redacted]

[redacted]

[redacted]

DECLASSIFICATION AUTHORITY DERIVED FROM
FBI AUTOMATIC DECLASSIFICATION GUIDE
DATE 07 27 2012

SAC [redacted] 63 1/13/71

SA HOWELL S. LOWE

[redacted]
RM

On 1/7/71 Lt. [redacted] Intelligence Unit, Memphis, Tenn., PD, made available to the writer a copy of a report received from Memphis [redacted] regarding activities of captioned organization for 1/6/71. A xerox copy of this report is attached to each copy of this memo.

Attachment 1

1 - [redacted]
1 - [redacted]
1 - [redacted]
1 - 170-70, ERNEST WITHERS
1 - [redacted]
1 - [redacted]
1 - [redacted]
HSL:LF
(7)

170-70-[redacted]

FD-350 (Rev. 7-16-63)

DECLASSIFICATION AUTHORITY DERIVED FROM:
FBI AUTOMATIC DECLASSIFICATION GUIDE
DATE 12 29 2011

(Mount Clipping in Space Below)

$25 Fine Is Levied On Mischief Charge

Ernest C. Withers, 48, of 480 West Brooks Road was fined $25, given a 30-day suspended jail sentence and put on probation for 60 days yesterday by City Court Judge Ray W. Churchill.

Mr. Withers had been charged with receiving stolen property, but the judge changed it to malicious mischief. He was accused of having a television set in his car which had been stolen from the car of J. R. Browder, 38, of 1019 Rich Road between 4 p.m. and 5:25 p.m., Sept. 2.

Mr. Withers said a man whom he did not know, asked him for a ride at Beale and Hernando and asked him to stop at a parking lot at 148 South Second. He said the man picked up the set from a clump of weeds and put it in his car. He did not know the set was stolen, he said.

Mr. Browder told police he saw Mr. Withers' car when he discovered his car had been broken into and the other man ran when he went to investigate.

(Indicate page, name of newspaper, city and state.)

PAGE 19

COMMERCIAL APPEAL

MEMPHIS, TENN.

Date: 9-15-71
Edition:
Author:
Editor: GORDON HANNA
Title: [illegible]

170-70-[redacted]
Character:
or
Classification:
Submitting Office: MEMPHIS

☐ Being Investigated

SEARCHED ___ INDEXED ___
SERIALIZED ___ FILED ___
SEP 17 1971
FBI — MEMPHIS

FBI-Withers-1028

9-23-71 197 FJG

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
WASHINGTON 25, D. C.

DECLASSIFICATION AUTHORITY DERIVED FROM
FBI AUTOMATIC DECLASSIFICATION GUIDE
DATE 07-17-2012

J. Edgar Hoover
Director.

The following FBI record, NUMBER 262 764 D, is furnished FOR OFFICIAL USE ONLY.

CONTRIBUTOR OF FINGERPRINTS	NAME AND NUMBER	ARRESTED OR RECEIVED	CHARGE	DISPOSITION
	no 10 xref			
ONI & MID	Ernest Columbus Withers #40-10	appl 9-30-41		
SOS, Army	Ernest Columbus Withers #85-USM	appl 8-11-42		
Army	Ernest Columbus Withers Sr. #34713142	4-6-43		
PD Memphis Tenn	Ernest Columbus Withers #73240	9-4-59	Inv (Viol Bad Chk Law)	
PD Wash DC (prt ret)	Ernest Columbus Where #12134	appl FP 5-29-68		
	Residence: 825 52nd street NE Wash DC [illegible]			
PD Memphis Tenn	Earnest Columbus Withers #73240	9-14-71	Rec Stolen Prop Amended to Malicious Mischief	$25.00 & 30 d jail time susp 6 mos prob

b7c

170-70-[redacted]

SEARCHED INDEXED
SERIALIZED FILED
SEP 27 1971
FBI - MEMPHIS

FBI-Withers-1029

Notations indicated by * ARE NOT BASED ON FINGERPRINTS IN FBI files. The notations are based on data formerly furnished this Bureau concerning individuals of the same or similar names or aliases and ARE LISTED ONLY AS INVESTIGATIVE LEADS.

U.S. GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE

9-23-71 197 FJG

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
WASHINGTON 25, D. C.

J. Edgar Hoover
Director.

1-BU

The following FBI record, NUMBER 262 764 D, is furnished FOR OFFICIAL USE ONLY.

CONTRIBUTOR OF FINGERPRINTS	NAME AND NUMBER	ARRESTED OR RECEIVED	CHARGE	DISPOSITION
A	FLASH BY BUREAU: If any information or inquiry received, Notify BFD Memphis, their file # [redacted] per inf rec 8-14-59. (ASN 34 713 142)			

THIS PAGE SSHOULD NOT BE DISSEMINATED OUTSIDE FBI.

FBI-Withers-1030

Notations indicated by * ARE NOT BASED ON FINGERPRINTS IN FBI files. The notations are based on data formerly furnished this Bureau concerning individuals of the same or similar names or aliases and ARE LISTED ONLY AS INVESTIGATIVE LEADS.

16—70583-4 U. S. GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20537

9-23-71 197 FJG

2-BU

The following FBI record, NUMBER 262 764 D, is furnished FOR OFFICIAL USE ONLY. Information shown on this Identification Record represents data furnished FBI by fingerprint contributors. WHERE FINAL DISPOSITION IS NOT SHOWN OR FURTHER EXPLANATION OF CHARGE IS DESIRED, COMMUNICATE WITH AGENCY CONTRIBUTING THOSE FINGERPRINTS.

CONTRIBUTOR OF FINGERPRINTS	NAME AND NUMBER	ARRESTED OR RECEIVED	CHARGE	DISPOSITION
CC-FBI Memphis, Tenn				

FBI-Withers-1031

Notations indicated by * are NOT based on fingerprints in FBI files but are listed only as investigative leads as being possibly identical with subject of this record.

John Edgar Hoover
Director

DECLASSIFICATION AUTHORITY DERIVED FROM:
FBI AUTOMATIC DECLASSIFICATION GUIDE

Routing Slip
0-7 (Rev. 2-12-71)

(Copies Be [redacted] as Checked)

TO: SAC:

- [ ] Albany
- [ ] Albuquerque
- [ ] Alexandria
- [ ] Anchorage
- [ ] Atlanta
- [ ] Baltimore
- [ ] Birmingham
- [ ] Boston
- [ ] Buffalo
- [ ] Butte
- [ ] Charlotte
- [ ] Chicago
- [ ] Cincinnati
- [ ] Cleveland
- [ ] Columbia
- [ ] Dallas
- [ ] Denver
- [ ] Detroit
- [ ] El Paso
- [ ] Honolulu
- [ ] Houston
- [ ] Indianapolis
- [ ] Jackson
- [ ] Jacksonville
- [ ] Kansas City
- [ ] Knoxville
- [ ] Las Vegas
- [ ] Little Rock
- [ ] Los Angeles
- [ ] Louisville
- [x] Memphis
- [ ] Miami
- [ ] Milwaukee
- [ ] Minneapolis
- [ ] Mobile
- [ ] Newark
- [ ] New Haven
- [ ] New Orleans
- [ ] New York City
- [ ] Norfolk
- [ ] Oklahoma City
- [ ] Omaha
- [ ] Philadelphia
- [ ] Phoenix
- [ ] Pittsburgh
- [ ] Portland
- [ ] Richmond
- [ ] Sacramento
- [ ] St. Louis
- [ ] Salt Lake City
- [ ] San Antonio
- [ ] San Diego
- [ ] San Francisco
- [ ] San Juan
- [ ] Savannah
- [ ] Seattle
- [ ] Springfield
- [ ] Tampa
- [ ] Washington Field
- [ ] Quantico

TO LEGAT:

- [ ] Beirut
- [ ] Bern
- [ ] Bonn
- [ ] Buenos Aires
- [ ] Caracas
- [ ] Copenhagen
- [ ] Hong Kong
- [ ] La Paz
- [ ] London
- [ ] Madrid
- [ ] Managua
- [ ] Mexico City
- [ ] Ottawa
- [ ] Paris
- [ ] Rome
- [ ] Tel Aviv
- [ ] Tokyo

Date OCT 22 1971

RE:

- [ ] For information
- [ ] Retention optional
- [x] For appropriate action
- [ ] Surep. by _____

- [ ] The enclosed is for your information. If used in a future report, [ ] conceal all sources, [ ] paraphrase contents.
- [ ] Enclosed are corrected pages from report of SA _____ dated _____.

Remarks:

b6 5
b7C -5

Enc.
Bufile
Urfile

FBI-Withers-1032

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : SAC 170-70 DATE: 11/23/71

FROM : SA HOWELL S LOWE

SUBJECT: Count Withers [redacted]

On 11/23/71 LT. [redacted] Intelligence Unit, Memphis, Tennessee Police Department furnished the attached information to SA HOWELL S LOWE.

170-70-[redacted]
SERIALIZED INDEXED
SEARCHED FILED
NOV 24 1971
FBI - MEMPHIS

FBI-Withers-1033

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

1. NAME LAST	FIRST	MID.	2. ALIAS - NICKNAME	3. ARREST NUMBER
Withers	Vincent	Columbus		

4. DAY	DATE	TIME	5. DATE OF BIRTH	SEX	RACE	AGE	6. RESIDENCE STREET	CITY	STATE
Tues.	9/21/71	1130a	8/7/22	M	N	49	400 N. Brooks Rd		

7. OCCUPATION	WHERE EMPLOYED	8. DRIVERS LICENSE NO.	9. LOCATION OF ARREST	DISTRICT
Photographer	927 Beale		400 N. Brooks Rd	C-18

10	INDICATE C.I.D. BUREAU INVOLVED	11. SUBJECT WANTED	CHECKED BY:
A22		YES ☐ NO ☐	

12. IDENTIFICATION NUMBER	14. ARRESTED WITH
F-3240	None

ACCIDENT INVOLVED	15. TRANSPORTED BY:	IBM #
YES ☐ NO ☐	J-0	

16. COMPLAINANT'S NAME	RESIDENCE ADDRESS	RESIDENCE PHONE	BUSINESS PHONE
[redacted]			

17. WITNESS TO ARREST			
[redacted]			

18. [redacted]	LICENSE NUMBER	[redacted]	OF VEHICLE	IF OTHER	[redacted]	INDICATE TO WHOM RELEASED

19. CHARGES AND COURT ACTION	DATE	HOUR	DIVISION	DISPOSITION
Receiving stolen property (Warrant)				

20. NARRATIVE

On a state warrant issued by Judge Ray Churchill Div. 3 of City Ct. to whom defendant was arrested

charging RECEIVING STOLEN PROPERTY. Warrant #2702, At the time of arrest the def. was advsd of his rights at which time he refused to make an oral statement. Def. was transported to Hqs. where he was allowed the use of the phone by Capt. [redacted] at the Desk Sgt. cage 505am at which time he called [redacted] phone [redacted] For further information see MI #517 035. Victim being [redacted]

[redacted]

73946

[redacted]	[redacted]	INVESTIGATING OFFICER	IBM #	INVESTIGATING OFFICER	IBM #	ASSIGNMENT

21. ARRESTING OFFICER	IBM #	ARRESTING OFFICER	IBM #	ASGT. CAR NO.	22. SUPERVISOR APPROVING INVESTIGATION	23. PROPERTY RECEIPT NO.
[redacted]		[redacted]				

24. PERSONAL PROPERTY	OTHER PROPERTY	DESK LIEUTENANT

REPROCESSED

DECLASSIFICATION AUTHORITY DERIVED FROM:
FBI AUTOMATIC DECLASSIFICATION GUIDE
DATE: 12 23 2010

REPRODUCTION OF MATERIAL FORM

CONGRESSIONAL INQUIRY UNIT

DATE 7/20/78

The following material has been reproduced for excising and review at FBIHQ and/or delivery to the House Select Committee on Assassinations:
(See Bufile 62-117290; re HSCA request dated 9/5/78.)

FILE NO. 121-70

SECTION [redacted]

SERIALS [redacted] through

(except following serials not in file on this date:)

EBF or BULKY:

Number of copies made 1 By

RETAIN THIS FORM AS TOP SERIAL

DECLASSIFICATION AUTHORITY DERIVED FROM:
FBI AUTOMATIC DECLASSIFICATION GUIDE
DATE 07-27-2012

SAC [redacted] (P) 10/27/72

b7D -3

SA HOWELL S. LOWE

MEMPHIS INSPECTION
8/25/72 - 9/8/72

[redacted] The Inspector noted that in files 170-70 and informants were affixing their code names on the side of the page in the margin of their written reports or were skipping lines at the bottom of the page before signing. Manual of Instructions reflects that informant is to affix his code name immediately under the last line of every page of his statement. Agents assigned to 170-70 and [redacted] should insure that informants properly sign their statements.

The Inspector also noted that in file 170-70 bulky material and exhibits furnished by the informant were being filed in the informant's sub file. This is incorrect, and all bulky material and exhibits furnished by the informant should be filed in the main substantive case file, and only the original of the channelizing memo indicating where the material is filed should be filed in informant's sub file. Agents assigned to these two cases should insure that in the future these mistakes are rectified.

1 - [redacted]
1 - 170-70
1 - [redacted]

HSL/acp
(3)

return file

170-70-[redacted]

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RE:

Date 11-1-74 LTD 2

- [ ] For information
- [ ] Retention optional
- [x] For appropriate action
- [ ] Surep. by _____

- [ ] The enclosed is for your information. If used in a future report, [ ] conceal all sources, [ ] paraphrase contents.
- [ ] Enclosed are corrected pages from report of SA _____ dated _____.

Remarks:

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FILE NO. 170-70

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SECTION [redacted]

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(See Bufile 62-117290; re HSCA request dated 7-5-78)

FILE NO. Memphis 170-70

SECTION

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FILE NO. 170-70

SECTION [redacted]

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UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to File No.

Memphis, Tennessee
February 20, 1968

Re: SANITATION WORKERS STRIKE,
MEMPHIS, TENNESSEE

On February 19, 1968, Lieutenant E. H. Arkin, Inspectional Bureau, Memphis, Tennessee, Police Department, advised that the Sanitation Workers Strike, City of Memphis, which began February 12, 1968, continued; and the Union which is attempting to represent the Sanitation Workers, namely the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees (AFL-CIO), continues its negotiations with the City of Memphis, primarily represented by Mayor Henry Loeb and City Attorney Frank Gianotti. The two factions are still far apart as to wages and particularly on the issue as to whether or not the city should collect dues by means of payroll deductions, said money to be later turned over to the Union.

On the night of February 18, 1968, Jerry Wurf, International President of the Union, arrived in Memphis and is still in Memphis conducting negotiations on behalf of the Union. A limited number of new city employees, hired since the strike began, are picking up some garbage from critical areas in Memphis. There are approximately 150 people working. Normally, the sanitation crew consists of over 1,000 individuals, who are primarily of the Negro race.

No demonstrations occurred over the weekend of February 17 and 18, 1968, nor was there any jamming of any of the city telephone lines, including the Police, Fire and City Hall telephone lines, as had been originally planned by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) in Memphis. The NAACP has since decided not to attempt to jam the phone lines of the Fire and Police as these are emergency numbers.

11 - Bureau; 1 - OSI; 1 - G-3; 1 - 111th MI, Nashville;
1 - 111th MI, Memphis; 1 - NISO; 1 - Secret Service, Memphis;
1 - USA, Memphis
0 - Memphis (157-1092)(100-662)(170-70 Sub)(170-46)(100-4456)
(100-4455)(100-4458)(~~[illegible]~~)(134-452 Sub)(100-4321)
WHL:gmh (27)

FBI-Withers-1226

170-70 Sub

SANITATION WORKERS STRIKE,
MEMPHIS, TENNESSEE

To date there have been no boycotts or picketing of merchants in a more-or-less secondary boycott operation to force the merchants to bring pressure to bear on the City of Memphis to settle the strike.

On the early morning of February 20, 1968, Lieutenant Arkin advised that a limited all-night vigil was held at the Memphis City Hall on the night of February 19-20, 1968. The vigil was sponsored by the NAACP and was participated in by the NAACP, by some of its sympathizers, and by a few of the sanitation workers. The vigil began at 6 p.m., February 19, 1968, and ended at approximately 6 a.m., February 20, 1968. There were no arrests and no incidents.

Lieutenant Arkin pointed out that the Memphis Ministerial Association has intervened in the strike attempting to get the City and the Union to negotiate and that the Young Democrats Club of Shelby County has come out in support of the strikers, as have a limited number of Memphis State University (MSU) students.

On February 20, 1968, a first source advised that it is indefinite as to whether or not any of the City Hall telephone lines will be jammed and it is also indefinite as to if and when the proposed boycotts of merchants will occur.

On February 19, 1968, a second source advised that a mass meeting in support of the strikers occurred Saturday night, February 17, 1968, in the Mason Temple operated by the Church of God in Christ. This was primarily a rally consisting mostly of sanitation workers and some of the Memphis Negro ministers who were supporting the strike. Approximately eight MSU students were there and indicated that they were supporting the strike, two being identified as Susan Macdonald and Howard Sidney Chilton III of 145 North Montgomery.

There were no apparent black power advocates present and Reverend W. L. Porter, a minister of the Church of God in Christ, emphasized to the audience that this strike was strictly economic and under no circumstances should its leaders or

FBI-Withers-1227

supporters allow it to deteriorate into a racial strike or one which could become a vehicle for the disruptive black power influences in the community.

On February 20, 1968, Lieutenant E. H. Arkin advised that he had learned from Captain J. G. Ray, also of the Intelligence Bureau, Memphis Police Department, that during the all-night vigil mentioned above, during the first two hours from 6 to 8 p.m., February 19, 1968, the vigil participants were led by Douglas Turner Howard, Jr., a white male, and wife Brenda Lois Howard, both of 600 Hughes Street, Memphis, Douglas Howard being an English Instructor at MSU; and that during the second two-hour period from 8 to 10 p.m., among the leaders were Susan Macdonald and Howard Sidney Chilton III.

As recently as February 20, 1968, source three advised that during the past year Susan Macdonald, a white female, and Howard Sidney Chilton III, along with Douglas and Brenda Howard, have been among the leaders of the protest movement on the MSU campus and that heretofore their primary efforts have been to oppose United States policy in Vietnam and that they were among the leaders of a series of downtown Memphis demonstrations beginning April 8, 1967, and continuing periodically until October 21, 1967, opposing United States policy in Vietnam. This source pointed out that all of these individuals are of the type who would like to exploit any situation of contention and use this as a vehicle to gain support from the community for projects in which they might become interested.

FBI-Withers-1228

SANITATION WORKERS STRIKE,
MEMPHIS, TENNESSEE

DOUGLAS TURNER HOWARD, JR., and
BRENDA LOIS HOWARD, also known as
Mrs. Douglas Turner Howard, Jr.

On December 9, 1966, a fourth source furnished original membership cards of the then current members of the W. E. B. DuBois Clubs of America (DCA) on the west coast. One card read: 'Doug and Brenda Howard, 1085 Natoma, Phone HE 1-4423, student and office clerk, SF State - Bekin Van and Storage."

Also on February 24, 1967, a fifth source advised that [redacted] the Howards had lived at 1085 Natoma, San Francisco, California, in 1966 and that Douglas Howard had attended San Francisco (SF) State College until June of 1966, when he received his Masters Degree.

(A characterization of the W. E. B. DuBois Clubs of America (DCA) is set forth in the Appendix Section.)

FBI-Withers-1229

1 APPENDIX

W. E. B. DU BOIS CLUBS OF AMERICA (DCA)

A source advised that on October 26-27, 1963, a conference of members of the Communist Party, USA (CPUSA), including national functionaries, met in Chicago, Illinois, for the purpose of setting in motion forces for the establishment of a new national Marxist-oriented youth organization which would hunt for the most peaceful transition to socialism. The delegates were told that it would be reasonable to assume that the young socilists attracted into this new organization would eventually pass into the CP itself.

A second source has advised that the founding convention for the new youth organization was held from June 19-21, 1964, at 150 Golden Gate Avenue, San Francisco, California, at which time the name W. E. B. DuBois Clubs of America (DCA) was adopted. Approximately 500 delegates from throughout the United States attended this convention.

The second source advised in September, 1966, that Mike Zagarell, CPUSA Youth Director, stated that in Negro communities the Party still supported the plan to build "left" socialist centers and to solidify the Party base through the DCA. This source also advised in September, 1966, that Daniel Rubin, CPUSA National Organizational Secretary, stated the Party believes the DCA should have a working-class outlook and be a mass organization favorable to socialism, socialist countries and Marxism, and in April, 1967, advised that Gus Hall, CPUSA General Secretary, indicated the DCA primary emphasis should be on developing mass resistance to the draft.

A third source advised in September, 1967, that Jarvis Tyner was elected chairman of the DCA on September 10, 1967, at the Third National Convention of the DCA held in New York, New York, from September 8-10, 1967.

A fourth source advised during August, 1967, that Jarvis Tyner is a member of the National Committee of the CPUSA.

A fifth source advised on September 21, 1967, that the headquarters of the DCA is located at 34 West 17th Street, New York, New York.

APPENDIX

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SANITATION WORKERS STRIKE,
MEMPHIS, TENNESSEE

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UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to File No.

Memphis, Tennessee
February 20, 1968

DECLASSIFICATION AUTHORITY DERIVED FROM:
FBI AUTOMATIC DECLASSIFICATION GUIDE
DATE 03-03-2011

Title: SANITATION WORKERS STRIKE, MEMPHIS, TENNESSEE

Character: RACIAL MATTERS

Reference: Memorandum prepared at Memphis, Tennessee, dated and captioned as above.

All sources (except any listed below) whose identities are concealed in referenced communication have furnished reliable information in the past.

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FD-36 (Rev. 12-13-56)

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DATE 08-23-2012

Date: 2/20/68

Transmit the following in _____
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Via AIRTEL _____
(Priority or Method of Mailing)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI

FROM: SAC, MEMPHIS (157-1092) (P)

SANITATION WORKERS STRIKE
MEMPHIS, TENNESSEE
RM

Re Memphis teletype 2/19/68.

Enclosed herewith for the Bureau are 11 copies of LHM captioned as above and dated 2/20/68. Copies are being disseminated to Regional Offices of Military Intelligence and to the U. S. Attorney and U. S. Secret Service, both Memphis, Tennessee.

Sources utilized in the enclosed LHM are set forth below:

Source one [redacted] contacted by SA WILLIAM H. LAWRENCE

Source two [redacted] contacted by SA LAWRENCE

Source three [redacted] contacted by SA LAWRENCE.

3 - Bureau (Encs.11) (RM)
10 - Memphis (1 - 157-1092)(1 - 100-662, NAACP)
(1 - 170-70 Sub)(1 - 134-452 Sub)
(1 - 170-46, [redacted] 1 - 100-4321, [redacted]
(1 - 100-4486, [redacted]
(1 - 100-4455,
(1 - 100-4458,
(1 - 66-1687 Sub, Dissemination File)

WHL:gmh
(13)

FBI-Withers-1233

Approved: _____ Sent _____ M Per _____
Special Agent in Charge

170-70 Sub

3/23/68

DECLASSIFICATION AUTHORITY DERIVED FROM
FBI AUTOMATIC DECLASSIFICATION GUIDE
DATE 03-03-2012

AIRTEL

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI

FROM: SAC, MEMPHIS (157-1093) (P)

SANITATION WORKERS STRIKE
MEMPHIS, TENNESSEE
RM

Re Memphis tel and LHM 2/19/68.

Enclosed herewith for Bureau are 11 copies of LHM captioned as above and dated 2/23/68. Copies are also being disseminated to U. S. Secret Service and the U. S. Attorney, Memphis, as well as to Regional Offices of Military Intelligence.

Source one is [redacted]

Source two is [redacted]

Both of the above sources furnished information to SA WILLIAM M. LAWRENCE.

3 - Bureau (Encs.11)
5 - Memphis
(1 - 157-1093)
(1 - 100-682, NAACP)
(1 - 170-45, VASCO SMITH)
(1 - 170-70 Sub, RE 338-R(CMEPTO)
(1 - 66-1887 Sub, Dissemination File)
WML:gmh
(8)

[redacted]

170-90 Sub

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to File No.

Memphis, Tennessee
February 24, 1968

RE: SANITATION WORKERS STRIKE
MEMPHIS, TENNESSEE

Reference is made to communication captioned as above dated February 23, 1968.

On February 23, 1968, Chief of Police James C. Macdonald, Memphis, Tennessee, Police Department, advised that on the afternoon of February 23, 1968, members of the Memphis City Council met at Ellis Auditorium with approximately 1000 sanitation strikers and supporters following which the City Council by a nine to four vote recommended that the Department of Sanitation employees had a right to join a union; to elect union officials of their own choosing; to select representatives to negotiate for them and on their behalf; to be included in Civil Service, and that the above should be recognized. The City Council also recommended that the workers be provided hospitalization, life insurance coverage, and a uniform pension plan along with sick leave and uniform vacation plan and a meaningful grievance procedure be established along with a wage increase of unspecified amount to be provided at the earliest possible date.

The City Council voted against recommending a dues check-off for union members following which the City Council members left the auditorium and Downing Pryor, chairman of the City Council, stated the public address system should be turned off. This tended to antognize the audience following which several inflammatory speeches were made.

According to Chief Macdonald and according to Source 1, who has furnished reliable information in the past, one of the speakers was Tommy Powell, a white male, president of AFL-CIO Labor Council, who claimed that the City Council had lied to the workers and had let them down. Powell claimed the union had tried to keep this a union matter, but that it is no longer a union

11-Bureau
1-USA, Memphis
1-U. S. Secret Service, Memphis
1 - G-2 Third Army, Ft. McPherson, Ga.
1 - 111th INTC, Memphis
1 - 111th INTC, Nashville
1 - NISO, Charleston, S. C.
WHL:PEH (24)

1-OSI, Maxwell AFB, Ala.
6-Memphis
(1 - 157-1092) 170-70-Sub
(1 - 100-662 NAACP)
(1 - 157-556 POSSIBLE RACIAL)
(1 - 170-70 Sub ME 338-R)
(1 - 170-83 MAXINE SMITH)
(1 - 66-1687 Sub Dissemination

FBI-Withers-1234

2/24/68

PLAINTEXT

AIRTEL

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI

FROM: SAC, MEMPHIS (157-1092) (P)

SUBJECT: SANITATION WORKERS STRIKE,
MEMPHIS, TENNESSEE;
RM

Re Memphis teletypes, 2/22/68 and 2/24/68.

Enclosed herewith for Bureau are 11 copies of LHM captioned as above and dated 2/24/68. Copies are also being disseminated to U. S. Secret Service and the U. S. Attorney, Memphis, as well as to Regional Offices of Military Intelligence.

Source 1 is [redacted]

Source 2 is [redacted]

Source 3 is [redacted]

The sources above furnished information to SA WILLIAM H. LAWRENCE.

3-Bureau (Enc. 11) (RM)
6-Memphis
(1 - 157-1092)
(1 - 100-062 NACP)
(1 - 157-556 POSSIBLE RACIAL VIOLENCE, MAJOR URBAN AREAS)
(1 - 170-70 Sub. MK 338-R (GHETTO)
(1 - 170-93 [redacted]
(1 - 66-1587 Sub, Dissemination File)

WEL:PEM
(9)

ENCLOSED [illegible]

MAILED [illegible]

SENT [illegible]

FBI Withers 1235

170-70-Sub- [redacted]

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to File No.

Memphis, Tennessee
February 26, 1968

Re: SANITATION WORKERS STRIKE,
MEMPHIS, TENNESSEE

Reference is made to a communication captioned as above dated February 24, 1968.

On February 25, 1968, Captain J. G. Ray, Inspectional Bureau, Memphis, Tennessee, Police Department, advised that on Saturday, February 24, 1968, Memphis Attorney Anthony Sabella, representing Local 1733, American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees (AFL-CIO), the Union claiming to represent the striking sanitation workers in Memphis, the strike now having gone on for two continuous weeks, surrendered Thomas Oliver Jones, President of Local 1733, after the Police Department had issued a warrant charging Jones with assault with intent to commit murder, disorderly conduct, and night riding in connection with his purported attempt to turn over a Memphis Police Department squad car on Friday afternoon, February 23, 1968, during a massive march of sanitation strikers and supporters down Main Street in Memphis, Tennessee.

Jones has been released on bond and Jones, along with the other seven strikers who were arrested in connection with the attempt to upset the squad car, has been bound over to the State of Tennessee for possible Grand Jury action.

All of the defendants have waived hearings in Memphis City Court.

The "Press-Scimitar" newspaper, issue of February 24, 1968, reported that the City of Memphis on February 24, 1968, obtained in Shelby County Chancery Court an injunction signed by Chancellor Robert Hoffman against officials of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees (AFL-CIO), aimed at preventing any strike activity. The injunction does not name that the 1,375 Sanitation Department men on strike will return to work or that they have to return to work but it

11 - Bureau; 1 - HIRO; 1 - G-2; 1 - OSI; 1 - 111th MI, Memphis;
1 - 111th MI, Nashville; 1 - USA, Memphis; 1 - Secret Service, Memphis;
(16) - Memphis (157-1092)(100-663)(157-109)(170-70 Sub)(170-1022)
(170-49)(170-45)(170-114)(170-117)(170-1019 Sub)
WHL:gmh (28)

170-70-Sub

does mean that they are in violation of the Court by continuing their strike. The story continued that if officials of the union and others named in the injunction participate in any marches or other demonstrations, the City can go into Court and the Chancellor could cite the men for Contempt of Court and jail them for up to ten days.

The injunction obtained by Memphis City attorneys is directed against Local 1733, along with Jerry Wurf, International President; P. J. Ciampa, Field Staff Director; William Lucy; Jesse Epps; and Joe Paisley, all of the International Staff. It also includes persons who were originally enjoined in a 1966 injunction obtained in Chancery Court against the same union including Pete Brown, who left the union after unsuccessful attempts to picket the Public Works Department when an injunction was granted in 1966 by William Rosenfield, Acting Chancellor.

Thomas Oliver Jones was also cited in the 1966 injunction, along with Nelson Jones, J. L. McClain, Joe Warren, Booker T. Bonds, Oscar Middleton, Lent Willis, Alvin Turner, James Jordan, Lee Washington, and Peter Parker, all described as agents, representatives and officers of the Union. The injunction's bill cites the August 20, 1966, union activity and adds information about the strike which started two weeks ago and contends that Union officials have been carrying on unlawful acts because of the original injunction. The injunction was issued against engaging in a strike against the city, causing, authorizing or inducing employees to strike against the city, picketing city property, and coercing the city by striking, picketing or other means to recognize the Union as bargaining agent.

The same issue of the paper reported that Reverend James Morris Lawson, Jr., Pastor of the Centenary Methodist Church and one of the strike leaders, stated that the Memphis

SANITATION WORKERS STRIKE,
MEMPHIS, TENNESSEE

Ministers Alliance plans a massive economic boycott against some downtown stores in an effort to force them to bring pressure to bear on the city of Memphis to end the strike. The paper reported that Jerry Fanion, Shelby County Community Relations Director, stated that, "The feeling in the Negro community against police use of Mace (on February 23) is high."

The February 25, 1968, issue of the "Commercial Appeal," Memphis, quoted Chancellor Hoffman as saying, "No principle of law is more firmly established than the principle that public employees do not have the right to strike." Chancellor Hoffman also stated that the injunction is binding only on persons named as parties defendant in the injunction order.

Also on February 25, 1968, Captain Ray advised that the Ministers Alliance, the spokesman of which is Reverend James Morris Lawson, Jr., met late on February 24, 1968, at Mason Temple on Mason Street and planned a boycott of downtown businesses and their outlying branches, along with the two daily newspapers, the "Press-Scimitar" and the "Commercial Appeal," along with Loeb's Laundry and Barbecue stands, a chain operated by William Loeb, brother of Mayor Henry Loeb of the City of Memphis.

The "Commercial Appeal" issue of February 25, 1968, reported that at Firestone Hall, strike meeting held late on February 24, 1968, Reverend Harold Middlebrook called for "taking to the streets" in defiance of the injunction and called for the "filling of the jails." At this meeting an undercover Negro officer of the Memphis Police Department was discovered by the strikers, was captured by them, taken to the stage and exhibited to the audience, and his revolver and Mace canister taken from him. He was then led from the Hall and turned over to awaiting police officers outside. Some of the Negro women

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present helped to protect him from strikers who threatened to do him bodily harm. He was not hurt. To date there have been no arrests made in connection with this incident.

On February 25, 1968, Captain Ray advised that Memphis Negro Ministers on February 25, 1968, called for daily marches in support of the strike to commence at 10 a.m., CST, February 26, 1968, in downtown Memphis, this being the first one.

He stated that the police will permit this march but will be forced to make arrests if the marchers violate any of the local laws.

Also on the night of February 24, 1968, Captain Ray advised that a reliable individual had received information to the effect that some of the strike leaders, possibly Reverend James Morris Lawson, Jr., who was one of the original founders of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) at Shaw College, Raleigh, North Carolina, in 1960 and who has maintained close liaision with SNCC officials since that time, was attempting to bring Stokely Carmichael, renowned black power activist and agitator and former National Chairman of SNCC, to Memphis, Tennessee, to help out with the strike and was urging him to bring 30 or more of his supporters to Memphis to help out with the strike.

Captain Ray stated that it was also learned that Reverend Lawson had sent communications over the weekend of February 24-25, 1968, to some 200 individuals in Memphis and also throughout the United States, urging them to physically come to Memphis and support the strike and to obtain financial support for the strike.

Information received from FBI Headquarters, Washington, D. C., on the night of February 24, 1968, revealed that Stokely Carmichael was last known to be in Los Angeles, California, and would in all probability be

FBI-Withers-1239

there over the weekend of February 24-25, 1968, and was scheduled to be in Cincinnati, Ohio, Monday, February 26, 1968, and thereafter would probably go to New York City to help raise funds to support the indicted current SNCC Chairman, H. Rapp Brown.

On the a.m. of February 26, 1968, Captain J. G. Ray, Inspectional Bureau, Memphis Police Department, advised that Reverend James Morris Lawson, Jr., had just advised the Police Department that a march-planning meeting was in progress at Claiborn Temple, AME Church, 280 Hernando; that the march, in support of the strikers, would commence at 11 a.m., February 26, 1968. He stated that the march would proceed west on Beale Street to Main Street and north on Main to Memphis City Hall at Adams and Main, a distance of about one and one-half miles. The marchers, estimated by Reverend Lawson to be 150 in number, will remain on the sidewalks and walk single file on the sidewalks. After reaching City Hall, the marchers will return to Claiborn Temple via the same route.

On February 25 and 26, 1968, sources one through seven, who are familiar with many facets of the strike, the NAACP and the incipient SNCC-oriented black power movement in Memphis, all advised that they have learned of no SNCC people who are coming to Memphis with regard to the strike.

Captain Ray advised that his agency, as well as the Tennessee Highway Patrol (THP), has received unverified reports to the effect that two bearded, natural hair-do male Negroes came to Memphis over the weekend of February 24-25, 1968, to meet with Local 1733 President Thomas Oliver Jones and plan to assassinate Mayor Henry Loeb. Jones has moved from Linden Lodge and his current whereabouts is not known. The Memphis Police Department is affording protection to Mayor Loeb.

Captain Ray added that numerous rumors have also been received to the effect that various black powerites and participants in riots in other cities are coming to Memphis to exploit the strike. To date he said these stories are unverified.

FBI-Withers-1240

SANITATION WORKERS STRIKE,
MEMPHIS, TENNESSEE

Special Agents of the FBI and representatives of the Memphis Police Department observed approximately 90 to 100 individuals, all Negroes with the exception of a few whites, and about half of whom were carrying placards, leave Claiborn Temple, 280 South Hernando, at approximately 10:50 a.m., February 26, 1968. This group remained on the sidewalk, walked west on Beale Street to Main where they split into two lines, one line walking on the east sidewalk and the other line walking on the west sidewalk, still remaining in single-file order. Some of the placards being carried by the marchers read as follows:

"Stay Away -- No Shopping Today"
"Keep Your Money in Your Pocket"
"Decency and Dignity for Sanitation Workers"
"Jim Crow Must Go"
"King Henry (Loeb), We Will Not Turn Back."

The group proceeded in an orderly fashion north on Main Street, on which is located the predominate number of downtown stores, and arrived at City Hall, located on Main at Adams, shortly prior to noon. At this point the marchers changed positions, the ones on the east side moving to the west side and the ones on the west side moving to the east, following which they returned to Claiborn Temple via the same route, again remaining in single-file position.

The march was led by Baxton Bryant, Executive Director of the Tennessee Council on Human Relations, a private organization which has interested itself in various racial disputes in Tennessee during the past few years. Accompanying Bryant was Reverend James Morris Lawson, Jr., Pastor of the Centenary Methodist Church, Memphis, a Negro male.

FBI-Withers-1241

SANITATION WORKERS STRIKE,
MEMPHIS, TENNESSEE

The only known young black power member or advocate was observed to be Samuel Carter, a LeMoyne College student, who has been identified by source one as one of the small group of Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) oriented group at LeMoyne College.

Approximately 20 to 25 of the marchers were women; others appeared to be teenagers and from dress and mannerisms obviously were not sanitation workers.

Preceding and during the march, some of the participants passed out handbills, stating that the objective of the march was to obtain "justice and jobs" and urged the reader to stay away from all downtown stores and their outlying branches; to stay away from all establishments connected with members of the City Council; and to stay away from any business with the name "Loeb" on it. It urged the reader to purchase no new clothes for Easter and to cancel the reader's subscriptions to the "Commercial Appeal" and "Press-Scimitar," the two daily newspapers in Memphis owned by the Scripps-Howard newspaper chain. It urged the reader to not even read the paper. It further urged the reader to attend nightly mass meetings which would be held indefinitely. It instructed all marchers to be peaceful and nonviolent and to ignore hecklers. It instructed them that if they were arrested they did not have to say anything other than to furnish their names, addresses, and ages, and reminded them that they were entitled to ask for a lawyer.

This bulletin announced that future mass meetings would be held as follows:

FBI-Withers-1242

SANITATION WORKERS STRIKE,
MEMPHIS, TENNESSEE

Monday, February 26, 1968,
7:30 p.m. at Claiborn Temple.

Tuesday, February 27, 1968,
7:30 p.m. at St. Paul Baptist Church,
McLemore at Greenwood.

Wednesday, February 28, 1968,
7:30 p.m. at St. James AME Church,
600 North Fourth.

REVEREND JAMES MORRIS LAWSON

On May 9, 1967, source eight advised that on a WHBQ-TV panel discussion on Sunday, April 30, 1967, Reverend James Morris Lawson, Jr., Negro male, Pastor of the Centenary Methodist Church, Memphis, and who has been a leader in April, 1967, demonstrations in Memphis opposing United States policy in Vietnam, was asked by Panelist Clark Porteous, "Press-Scimitar" Reporter, if he, Lawson, was a Communist. Lawson replied that he was not a member of the Communist Party, but he felt that the Communist program had many good points and much to offer the United States.

The first source advised that Reverend James Morris Lawson was one of the original founders of SNCC in 1960 and has since that time been considered as a leader in so-called nonviolent tactics, and source recalled that constantly during April, May, June, and July, 1967, Lawson regularly participated as a leader in demonstrations in Memphis opposing United States policy in Vietnam.

FBI-Witners-1243

SANITATION WORKERS STRIKE,
MEMPHIS, TENNESSEE

As recently as February 23, 1968, source one advised that Lawson was preparing to make a trip to Czechoslovakia, a Communist country. On the same date, source nine advised that Lawson had stated on that date that he planned to leave the United States at New York, New York, March 28, 1968, to go to Belgium, Germany, and the Prague, Czechoslovakia, where he would be a delegate to a Christian Peace Conference. The date of the Conference is not known but was presumed by source nine to be probably in late March or early April, 1968.

The pertinent information regarding the planning of the march and other details set forth here in detail were orally furnished to William Bray, 111th Military Intelligence, Memphis, and to Captain J. G. Ray, Inspectional Bureau, Memphis Police Department.

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

FBI-Withers-1244

FBI

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DATE 08-08-2012

Date: 2/26/68

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plain text or code)

Via AIRTEL _____
(Priority or Method of Mailing)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI

FROM: SAC, MEMPHIS (157-1092) (P)

SANITATION WORKERS STRIKE
MEMPHIS, TENNESSEE
RM

Re Memphis teletype 2/26/68 and LHM dated 2/24/68. Re Phone call Memphis to Bureau 2/24/68.

Enclosed herewith for the Bureau are 11 copies of LHM captioned and dated as above.

Copies are being disseminated to U. S. Attorney, Memphis; U. S. Secret Service, Memphis; and to Regional Offices of Military Intelligence.

3 - Bureau (Encs.11)
11 - Memphis
(1 - 157-1092)
(1 - 100-662, NAACP)
(1 - 157-109 (SNCC)
(1 - 170-70 Sub, ME 338-R(Ghetto)
(1 - 170-1022 [redacted]
(1 - 170-49, [redacted]
(1 - 170-45, [redacted]
(1 - 170-114, [redacted]
(1 - 170-117, [redacted]
(1 - 170-1019 Sub, [redacted]
(1 - 66-1687 Sub, Dissemination File)
WHL:gmh
(14)

MAIL ROOM _____
SERIALIZED _____
INDEXED _____
FILED _____
170-70-Sub-

Approved: R A Jensen
Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____ M Per _____

DECLASSIFICATION AUTHORITY DERIVED FROM:
FBI AUTOMATIC DECLASSIFICATION GUIDE
DATE 02 27 2012

REPRODUCTION OF MATERIAL FORM

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SECTION [redacted]

SERIALS [redacted] through [redacted]

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DATE OF 10 2012

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to File No.

Memphis, Tennessee
February 27, 1968

Re: SANITATION WORKERS STRIKE,
MEMPHIS, TENNESSEE

The sanitation strike in Memphis, Tennessee, which commenced February 12, 1968, continues and on the late afternoon of February 26, 1968, Special Agents of the FBI and representatives of the Memphis Police Department observed a second march of strike sympathizers which began at Clayborn Temple AME Church, 280 South Hernando, Memphis, and proceeded by foot west on Beale Street from Hernando to Main Street, and north on Main Street to the City Hall at Adams and Main Street, whereupon the marchers retraced their steps returning to the Temple where the march terminated. Approximately 122 people participated, some of whom were identified as sanitation workers by representatives of the Police Department and representatives of the Press, although it is not known that any union officials who have been named in the injunction obtained by the City of Memphis in Chancery Court on Saturday, February 24, 1968, were involved.

There were no incidents and no arrests.

Prominently observed in the march were such leaders of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) as Executive Secretary Maxine Smith and President Jesse Turner. Also prominently leading the strike marchers was Reverend James Morris Lawson, Jr., Pastor of the Centenary Methodist Church and Baxton Bryant, Executive Secretary of the Tennessee Council on Human Relations, a private inter-racial race relations organization with headquarters at Nashville, Tennessee.

On the late night of February 26, 1968, a first source advised that a meeting of strike sympathizers attended by some 1300 people including many strikers met on the night

11 - Bureau; 1 - NISO; 1 - G-2; 1 - OSI; 1 - 111th MI, Memphis;
1 - 111th MI, Nashville; 1 - USA, Memphis; 1 - Secret Service, Mfs.;
7 - Memphis (1 - 157-1002(157-109)(100-802)(157-336)(170-703sub)
(157-937)(157-938)

WHL:gmh
(23)

FBI-Withers-1056

170-70-

of February 26, 1968, in Clayborn Temple and that Dr. Ralph Jackson, Negro male, head of the Minimum Salary Department of the African Methodist Episcopal Church, the headquarters of which is next door to the Temple, directed a solicitation of money for the strikers and some $1590.00 was collected. At the meeting Jerry Wurf, President of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees (AFL-CIO) from Washington, D. C., urged solidarity of the strikers and solidarity of the black community to back them. Other speakers who urged similar unity were Reverend Henry Logan Starks, Pastor of St. James AME Church, 600 North Fourth Street, and President of the Memphis Ministerial Alliance, a Negro Ministerial group in Shelby County, Tennessee, which includes Memphis.

When Reverend Starks asked Reverend M. D. Blackburn, Pastor of Clayborn Temple, who is a white man, to give the benediction, instead of giving the benediction, according to source one, Blackburn called upon his "friend" John Burrell Smith, a male Negro and student at Owen College, a Negro junior college in Memphis, Tennessee. Smith thereafter made a fiery and impassioned speech, in which he poked fun at such people as Reverend Starks and Dr. Jackson, ministers of the gospel, saying that all of their praying would not solve the strike or not get justice for the Negro. Smith referred to the Negro as the "black man." Smith began by complaining that the city which is operating "scab" garbage crews on a limited scale during the strike of the sanitation workers, is picking up garbage in the white areas of East Memphis but will not pick up garbage in South Memphis which is an all-black area. He urged that the people in South Memphis should take their garbage and place it in the streets and create traffic and health hazards by so doing. He also urged people to take their garbage to the Memphis City Hall and dump it and then said, "We've got to do some fighting." He said, "We're not going to do it all unless we fight. We must fight the power structure, whether it is Henry Loeb (Mayor of Memphis) or Richard Nixon (former Vice President of the United States)."

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SANITATION WORKERS STRIKE,
MEMPHIS, TENNESSEE

He stated that when Henry Loeb refused to negotiate with the sanitation workers that he began a tremendous problem in the City of Memphis. He stated that the city has too many police policing the sanitation strike and that all the police are working for is the white power structure; that they will not represent the black man; and concluded this remark by saying, "You'd better get some guns." He said, "Get your guns. You're going to need them before this is over. You can't pray your way out."

Following Smith's speech, Reverend Starks apologized to the audience for the remarks of Smith and emphasized to the audience that Smith was speaking as an individual and not on behalf of the various groups which are supporting the strike.

Reverend Blackburn made some comment to the effect that he agreed with and supported the remarks made by John Burrell Smith.

It was announced at the meeting that strike supporters and sympathizers would congregate at Clayborn Temple prior to 1 p.m., Tuesday, February 27, 1968, following which they would march from Hernando to Beale Street, from Beale to Main, and up Main to the City Hall in time to attend en masse the regularly scheduled meeting of the Memphis City Council, a body of 13 men and women, which was scheduled to meet at 2:30 p.m., February 27, 1968. This is the only march scheduled for February 27, 1968.

On the early morning of February 27, 1968, a second source corroborated in detail information furnished by source one, adding that the meeting at Clayborn Temple had been peaceful and quiet until Reverend M. D. Blackburn was asked by Reverend Starks to give the benediction. When this was done Blackburn took the microphone and instead of giving the benediction stated, "I see Brother John Smith is here and I'd better let him speak a few words,"

FBI-Withers-1058

whereupon John Smith made his talk, stating substantially what source one quoted above. In addition, Smith, according to source two, stated that "Mr. Loeb (Henry Loeb) ain't going to do nothing. He picks up garbage out East (white section of town) and is not picking up down South (black section of town)." He then urged the people to place their garbage in the streets and in their front yards. He stated, "We have to get some guns." He also said, "Don't think you can do anything with all this army of police." Source two stated that Smith did not call for actual fighting of the police but still emphasized on several occasions that the black people, or Negroes, should obtain guns. He was vague as to what he expected them to do with the guns after obtained. John Smith made a statement referring to the ministers, "You preachers do the praying and we'll do the other work." He did not elaborate in this regard.

John Smith after speaking was followed by Reverend Blackburn who told the audience that he personally was going to bring his "bag of garbage" to the council meeting on February 27, 1968, and the decide what he would do with it after reaching the council meeting. Source two interpreted this as a subtle appeal for the audience to bring their garbage and dump it in the City Hall. He then stated, "Bring some bags with you and then we'll decide what to do with them."

Source two stated that John B. Smith had two or three individuals with him who were obvious black power advocates, pointing out that Smith and his followers wear natural Afro hair-dos, dark glasses, and some wear amulets around their necks.

SANITATION WORKERS STRIKE
MEMPHIS, TENNESSEE

Source two pointed out that John Burrell Smith has been a self-identified leader of an incipient black power movement and by Smith's admission, this is oriented toward the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) in Memphis, Tennessee, and has been in this capacity since around July of 1967. Source two stated that Smith has become a highly controversial figure in Memphis, that he got considerable newspaper publicity during the Summer of 1967 when he was closely associated with Coby Vernon Smith, male Negro, current Southwestern College at Memphis student, and with Charles Lavern Cabbage, former student Morehouse College, Atlanta, Georgia, and a native Memphian, and that the three were identified in the press as leaders of the black power movement in Memphis, Tennessee.

Source two stated that Cabbage and John Smith are in his considered opinion the current leaders of the black power movement in Memphis. Source two pointed out that Smith has recently received some newspaper publicity in Memphis by attempting to lead a movement on the part of students at the two Negro colleges, Owen and LeMoyne, to oppose a planned merger of these two schools beginning in September, 1968; that Smith has not been too successful in this regard; nor has he been successful in his efforts to build an Afro-American group, a subsidiary of his black power movement, at Owen College.

He is, according to source two, a publicity seeker and is obviously using the sanitation strike as a vehicle to gain followers for his black power movement. Source two does not feel that the leaders of the strike supporters, such as Henry Logan Starks and Dr. Jackson, will allow Smith and his followers to gain a foothold in the leadership of the strike.

FBI-Withers-1060

SANITATION WORKERS STRIKE
MEMPHIS, TENNESSEE

The above information was immediately furnished to Lieutenant E. H. Arkin, Inspectional Bureau, Memphis Police Department, and to Chief of Police James C. Macdonald and to William Bray, 111th Military Intelligence Group, Third Army, Memphis, Tennessee.

On the early afternoon of February 27, 1967, Special Agents of the FBI and representatives of the Memphis Police Department observed approximately 300 sympathizers march from Clayborn Temple to Memphis City Hall and also approximately 300 apparent strikers arrive at City Hall from the Firestone Union Hall where they had held a Union meeting earlier.

Their purpose, according to Lieutenant E. H. Arkin, Inspectional Bureau, Memphis Police Department, was to present to the City Council which is in session on the afternoon of February 27, 1967, their demands for settlement of the sanitation strike. Lieutenant Arkin pointed out, along with newsmen Joseph Sweat, Jr., of the Memphis "Commercial Appeal," and Clark Porteous of the Memphis "Press-Scimitar," that if the City Council does not give them satisfaction in their demands they may engage in an all-night sit-in in the City Council chambers which holds 407 spectator seats.

On arrival at the City Hall, all 407 spectator seats were occupied by strikers and sympathizers and another approximately 200 strikers and sympathizers stood in the City Hall lobby adjacent to the City Council chambers where the Council arranged for them to listen to the Council proceedings via a public address system.

Later on the afternoon of February 27, 1967, the City Council recessed while the 23 union officials and members named in the original injunction against the strikers February 24, 1968, by Chancery Court Chancellor Robert Hoffman appeared in Chancellor Hoffman's Court where he was to decide whether or not to hold any or all of these Union members and

officials in contempt.

Mr. Porteous stated that Chancellor Hoffman had received information that some Union officials and members named in the indictment had allegedly attended and possibly spoke at some of the meetings and rallies recently held in support of the strike.

Lieutenant Arkin stated that the current feeling is that the Police Department will not attempt to make any mass arrests or mass evictions if the spectators refuse to leave the City Council chambers when the City Hall normally closes following the termination of the Council meeting.

At approximately 4:30 p.m., February 27, 1968, after a recess the City Council reconvened, at which time Jerry Wurf, International President of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees (AFL-CIO), made a plea to the Council for the check-off of Union dues in any subsequent settlement with the City and the sanitation strikers. He concluded his remarks shortly after 5 p.m., at which time Downing Pryor, President of the City Council, adjourned the meeting and all of the spectators peacefully left the City Council chambers and the City Hall.

No announcements were made concerning any subsequent planned demonstrations.

During the late afternoon of February 27, 1968, self-admitted Memphis black power leaders connected with the Black Organizing Power (BOP), a self-admitted Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) oriented group, namely Charles Laverne Cabbage and John B. Smith, were observed in the Council hall, along with various of their followers who were observed by FBI Agents to include Charles Ballard, Charles Harrington, Donney Delaney and Verdell Brooks and Clinton Roy Jamerson.

FBI-Withers-1062

SANITATION WORKERS STRIKE,
MEMPHIS, TENNESSEE

This group made no effort to speak during the Council meeting and sat as observers. Following the meeting Reverend James Morris Lawson, Jr., was observed to contact Charles Laverne Cabbage and they left the Council chambers and the City Hall together.

REVEREND JAMES MORRIS LAWSON, JR.

On May 9, 1967, source one advised that on a WHBQ-TV panel discussion on Sunday, April 30, 1967, Reverend James Morris Lawson, Jr., Negro male, Pastor of the Centenary Methodist Church, Memphis, and who has been a leader in April, 1967, demonstrations in Memphis opposing United States policy in Vietnam, was asked by Panelist Clark Portcous, "Press-Scimitar" Reporter, if he, Lawson, was a Communist. Lawson replied that he was not a member of the Communist Party but he felt that the Communist program had many good points and much to offer the United States.

The second source advised that Reverend James Morris Lawson was one of the original founders of SNCC in 1960 and has since that time been considered as a leader in so-called nonviolent tactics, and source recalled that constantly during April, May, June and July, 1967, Lawson regularly participated as a leader in demonstrations in Memphis opposing United States policy in Vietnam.

As recently as February 23, 1968, source two advised that Lawson was preparing to make a trip to Czechoslovakia, a Communist country.

On the same date, source three advised that Lawson had stated on that date that he planned to leave the United States at New York, New York, March 28, 1968, to go to Belgium, Germany, and the Prague, Czechoslovakia, where he would be a delegate to a Christian Peace Conference. The date of the Conference is not known but was presumed by source nine to be probably in late March or early April, 1968.

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SANITATION WORKERS STRIKE,
MEMPHIS, TENNESSEE

Also on February 27, 1968, Tom Barber, Reporter, "Press-Scimitar" newspaper, Memphis, who covered the hearing before Chancellor Robert Hoffman, mentioned above, stated that on the motion of Union Attorney Anthony Sabella, Judge Hoffman postponed the hearing on possible charges of contempt against Union leaders and others named in his original injunction until Friday, March 1, 1968.

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FBI-W thers-1064

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to File No.

Memphis, Tennessee
February 27, 1968

Title: SANITATION WORKERS STRIKE
MEMPHIS, TENNESSEE

Character: RACIAL MATTERS

Reference: Memorandum prepared at Memphis, Tennessee, dated and captioned as above.

All sources (except any listed below) whose identities are concealed in referenced communication have furnished reliable information in the past.

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FBI AUTOMATIC DECLASSIFICATION GUIDE
DATE: 02-28-2011

FBI

Date: 2/27/68

Transmit the following in _____
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Via AIRTEL _____
(Priority or Method of Mailing)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI

FROM: SAC, MEMPHIS (157-1092) (P)

SANITATION WORKERS STRIKE,
MEMPHIS, TENNESSEE
RM

Re Memphis teletype 2/27/68 and Memphis airtel and LHM dated 2/26/68.

Enclosed herewith for the Bureau are 11 copies of LHM captioned and dated as above.

Copies are being disseminated to U. S. Attorney, Memphis; U. S. Secret Service, Memphis; and to Regional Offices of Military Intelligence.

Sources contacted are as follows:

Source one is [redacted] who requested [redacted] of the fact it is most difficult for him to attend these [redacted]

3 - Bureau (Encs.11)
(8) - Memphis
(1 - 157-1092)
(1 - 157-109 (SNCC)
(1 - 100-662, NAACP)
(1 - 157-556, Possible Racial Violence, Major Urban Areas)
(1) - 170-70 Sub, ME 338-R(Ghetto)
(1 - 157-957, [redacted] 170-70 [redacted]
(1 - 157-938,
(1 - 66-1687 Sub A, Dissemination)
WHL:gmh (11)

Approved: RG Jensen
Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____ M Per _____

Source two is [redacted].

Source three is [redacted] (requested his identity be protected).

The above sources furnished information to SA WILLIAM H. LAWRENCE.

Memphis will follow and report pertinent activities.

FBI-Witners-1067

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11-13-2012

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to File No.

Memphis, Tennessee

February 28, 1968

Re: SANITATION WORKERS STRIKE,
MEMPHIS, TENNESSEE

Reference is made to the memorandum dated February 27, 1968, regarding captioned matter.

On the morning of February 28, 1968, Chief of Police James C. Macdonald, Memphis, Tennessee, advised that he knew of no specific marches planned for February 28, 1968, in support of the sanitation workers strike in Memphis which began February 12, 1968. He stated that fairly reliable information had been received to indicate that if the strike is not settled by Sunday, March 3, 1968, that many of the Negro ministers in Memphis, particularly those affiliated with the Memphis Ministerial Alliance, an organization to which many Negro ministers belong, would lead volunteers from their respective congregations in a downtown rally or memorial on that date in support of the sanitation strike.

On February 28, 1968, a first source advised that there is a possibility that a march would take place at 3 p.m., February 28, 1968, from Clayborn Temple over the usual downtown route to the Memphis City Hall if enough volunteers could be obtained. The weather was inclement with a cold rain and in addition possible snow was predicted for later in the day. This source who is fairly close to the over-all strategy in support of the strike stated that considerable jealousy exists among the leaders of the various movements supporting the strike and that it now appears that the Negro faction generally gravitating around the Unity League, headed by O. Z. Evers, a Negro, self employed as an exterminator in Memphis, is rapidly losing its influence to a small faction connected with the Memphis Ministerial Alliance, the main spokesmen for which appears to be Reverend James Morris Lawson, Jr., and Dr. Ralph Jackson. The source pointed out that the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP)

11 - Bureau; 1 - [illegible]; 1 - [illegible]; 1 - [illegible]; 1 - 111th MI, Nashville; 1 - USA, Memphis; 1 - Secret Service, Mfs.;
(D) - Memphis (157-1092)(100-332)(157-556)(157-100)(170-40)(170-70Sub)
(157-027)(170-38)(100-4481)
[illegible] (27)

FBI Withers 1246

which has done copious organizational work and leg work in connection with supporting the strike, is gradually losing control to the Ministerial Alliance. For example, the NAACP leaders have been bitterly opposed to any part which the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) oriented black powerites, represented by Charles L. Cabbage, John Burrell Smith, and their associates, might play in the strike but as recently as Sunday, February 25, 1968, source learned, reliably, that the black power youths are being brought into the strike by the Ministerial Alliance not necessarily for the purpose of creating obstructions or violence, but to form an alliance with them in order to keep them under control and to use their limited influence. Source one stated that this strategy had already backfired when John Burrell Smith urged Memphis Negroes to obtain guns for possible future use of an undescribed nature, making said comment at a strike rally sponsored by the Ministerial Alliance on the night of February 26, 1968.

Source one feels that Reverend James Morris Lawson, Jr., Pastor of the Centenary Methodist Church, and Reverend Malcolm D. Blackburn, a white male, Pastor of the Clayborn Temple African Methodist Episcopal (AME) Church, the only known white minister of a Negro church in Memphis, are possibly responsible for any injection of the black power followers, small in number, into the strike.

(The "Commercial Appeal" newspaper, issue of April 10, 1967, in a story on page 5, captioned, "Misery Has Company of Strong Faith," by Reporter Barney DuBois, reported that Reverend M. D. Blackburn, then age 39, a native of Canada and formerly connected with the Stewardship Department of the National Council of Churches in New York, had taken over the pastorship of the Clayborn Temple after having worked for some time as Stewardship Field Secretary of the AME Church.)

Source one stated that he had been reliably informed that John B. Smith and possibly other black powerites had attended strategy meetings of the strike sympathizers at Clayborn Temple on the night of

FBI-Withers-1247

SANITATION WORKERS STRIKE,
MEMPHIS, TENNESSEE

February 26 and possibly February 27, 1968. Source one hopes that some of the more understanding and common-sense motivated Negro ministers in the Alliance will exert sufficient control over the black powerites to prevent their engaging in any untoward action which could lead to violence and which could lead to loss of support of the strike on the part of the Negro populace in Memphis.

On February 28, 1968, a second source advised that this source had been reliably informed by one extremely close to the strategy session of the strike sympathizers that Malcolm D. Blackburn is the one who brought John B. Smith and his black power associates into the strike scene. This source stated that Blackburn is most domineering and has a violent temper and in source's considered opinion is not sincere in wanting to help the members of the Negro race but is more interested in inflating his own ego and in operating in a paternalistic manner.

This source pointed out that some of the Negro leaders in Memphis have pointed out that the sanitation strike is merely a forerunner of other strikes and racial activity to occur in Memphis in future months.

The source elaborated that on February 27, 1967, the Memphis Housing Authority rejected a request of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees (AFL-CIO) when the latter Union requested that it be recognized as a representative for 113 Memphis Housing Authority maintenance men.

The next strike activity will probably center there and thereafter the Negro leaders plan to demand raises and better working conditions in the Memphis City hospitals. Source two added that Memphis currently operates four hospitals, namely, John Gaston Hospital, E. H. Crump Hospital, Gailor Hospital and Collins Chapel Hospital.

FBI-Withers-1248

SANITATION WORKERS STRIKE,
MEMPHIS, TENNESSEE

These four hospitals combined employ several thousand people, a large number, particularly in the lower-paying jobs, being members of the Negro race.

On February 28, 1968, a third source advised that at a strategy meeting of the strike supporters held on the night of February 27, 1968, at St. Paul's Baptist Church, Reverend James Morris Lawson, Jr., called for the formation of a large "mobilization of students" from colleges and some high schools who would on a mass basis march, physically carry out picketing of downtown and outlying merchants in an effort to force them to support the strike effort, and to engage in song fests calculated to stimulate emotional interest in support of the strike. Also Lawson and the Ministerial Alliance group called for a meeting at Clayborn Temple at 3 p.m., February 28, 1968, of volunteers who would thereafter arrange to feed meals voluntarily to members of the strikers' families, many of whom are now virtually poverty stricken. Another strategy meeting of the Ministerial Alliance was to be held earlier on February 28, 1968, at 1 p.m. ostensibly at Clayborn Temple.

All of the above information upon receipt was furnished to the 111th Military Intelligence Group, Third Army, Memphis, and to Captain Jewell G. Ray and Chief of Police James C. Macdonald of the Memphis Police Department.

FBI-Withers-1249

SANITATION WORKERS STRIKE,
MEMPHIS, TENNESSEE

On May 9, 1967, source four advised that on a WHBQ-TV Panel Discussion on Sunday, April 30, 1967, Reverend James Morris Lawson, Jr., Negro male, Pastor of the Centenary Methodist Church, Memphis, and who has been a leader in April, 1967, demonstrations in Memphis opposing United States policy in Vietnam, was asked by Panelist Clark Porteous, "Press-Scimitar" Reporter, if he, Lawson, was a Communist. Lawson replied that he was not a member of the Communist Party, but he felt that the Communist program had many good points and much to offer the United States.

Source five advised that Reverend James Morris Lawson was one of the original founders of SNCC in 1960 and has since that time been considered as a leader in so-called nonviolent tactics and source recalled that constantly during April, May, June and July, 1967, Lawson regularly participated as a leader in demonstrations in Memphis opposing United States policy in Vietnam.

As recently as February 23, 1968, source five advised that Lawson was preparing to make a trip to Czechoslovakia, a Communist country.

On the same date, source six advised that Lawson had stated on that date that he planned to leave the United States at New York, New York, March 28, 1968, to go to Belgium, Germany, and the Prague, Czechoslovakia, where he would be a delegate to a Christian Peace Conference. The date of the Conference is not known but was presumed by source six to be probably in late March or early April, 1968.

FBI-Withers-1250

SANITATION WORKERS STRIKE,
MEMPHIS, TENNESSEE

Beginning at about 3:30 p.m., February 28, 1968, Special Agents of the FBI and representatives of the Memphis Police Department observed approximately 100 strike sympathizers, primarily middle-aged and elderly Negro women, led by Reverend James Morris Lawson, Jr.; Reverend Malcolm D. Blackburn; and Reverend Richard Moon, Director of the Westminster House, a Presbyterian student center at Memphis State University. This group marched from Clayborn Temple on the sidewalk in downtown Memphis to the City Hall from which point they returned to Clayborn Temple. No known incidents occurred and no known arrests occurred.

During the march a seventh source, who is close to the strike situation, advised that the march was sponsored by the Memphis Ministerial Alliance, a group of Negro ministers, and that they will sponsor daily marches until the strike is settled. This group is adopting for the purposes of the strike the name Community on the Move for Equality (COME).

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

FBI-Withers-1251

DECLASSIFICATION AUTHORITY DERIVED FROM:
FBI AUTOMATIC DECLASSIFICATION GUIDE
DATE: 12-31-2012

FBI

Date: 2/28/68

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plain text or code)

Via AIRTEL _____
(Priority or Method of Mailing)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI

FROM: SAC, MEMPHIS (157-1092) (P)

SANITATION WORKERS STRIKE
MEMPHIS, TENNESSEE
RM

Re teletype and Letterhead Memorandum to Bureau from Memphis 2/27/68.

Enclosed herewith for the Bureau are 11 copies of a letterhead memorandum dated and captioned as above. Copies are being furnished to U. S. Attorney and Secret Service, Memphis, and to Regional Offices of Military Intelligence.

Source one is [redacted]

Source two is [redacted]

Source three is [redacted]

3 - Bureau (Encs.11)
10 - Memphis
(1 - 157-1092)
(1 - 100-662, NAACP)
(1 - 157-556, Possible Racial Violence, Major Urban Areas)
(1 - 157-109, SNCC)
(1 - 170-46, [redacted]
(1 - 66-1687 Sub, Dissemination)
(1 - 170-70 Sub, ME 338-R (Ghetto)
(1 - 157-927, [redacted]
(1 - 170-98, [redacted]
(1 - 100-4481 [redacted]

WHL:gmh (13)

Approved: _____ Sent _____ M Per _____
Special Agent in Charge

FBI-Withers-1252

ME 157-1092

Source four is [redacted]

Source five is [redacted]

Source six is [redacted] who requested his identity be protected.

Source seven is [redacted]

All of the above sources furnished information to SA WILLIAM H. LAWRENCE.

Memphis will follow and report pertinent activities.

FBI-Withers-1253

DECLASSIFICATION AUTHORITY DERIVED FROM
FBI AUTOMATIC DECLASSIFICATION GUIDE
DATE 02-23-2012

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to File No.

Memphis, Tennessee
February 29, 1968

Re: SANITATION WORKERS STRIKE,
MEMPHIS, TENNESSEE

Reference is made to a communication captioned as above and dated February 28, 1968.

The "Commercial Appeal" newspaper, issue of February 29, 1968, Memphis, Tennessee, reported that in an effort to end the sanitation workers strike in Memphis which began February 12, 1968, Mayor Henry Loeb of Memphis is sending a letter to all sanitation workers explaining that a strike of public employees is illegal; that this is a nation governed by laws and as Mayor he gave an oath to uphold the law; and that as a pre-condition to any re-arrangement of wages and working conditions, the strike must end. He also stated that after this condition is met, he would sit down with representatives of the employees of the Public Works Department which is the body of the City of Memphis under which the sanitation workers are employed. He pointed out that he had recommended to the City Council a salary increase of 8¢ per hour. He pointed out that he recognized and respected the right of each of the striking employees to join a union and to pay dues to a union of their choosing. He pointed out that the city is offering health, hospitalization and life insurance to all employees, including the sanitation workers. He pointed out that all city employees, including sanitation workers, would receive two weeks' paid vacation after one year service and after the tenth year each employee would receive three weeks' paid vacation and after the fifteenth year, four weeks' paid vacation. He further pointed out that uniform sick leave would be made standard for all city employees. He stated that he would make efforts to place all sanitation workers under Civil Service with Civil Service rules to govern promotions, hiring, and dismissal procedures.

The same issue of the paper in a story on page 16 reported that about 30 Negro high school and college students met at the Centenary Methodist Church (pastored by Reverend James Morris Lawson, Jr), on the night of February 29, 1968,

170-70 Sub

FD-9 (Rev. 12-15-66)
DECLASSIFICATION AUTHORITY DERIVED FROM:
FBI AUTOMATIC DECLASSIFICATION GUIDE
DATE 12-25-2012

FBI

Date: 2/29/68

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plain text or code)

Via AIRTEL _____
(Priority or Method of Mailing)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI

FROM: SAC, MEMPHIS (157-1092) (P)

SANITATION WORKERS STRIKE
MEMPHIS, TENNESSEE
RM

Re Memphis teletype and letterhead memorandum 2/28/68.

Enclosed herewith for the Bureau are 11 copies of a letterhead memorandum dated and captioned as above. Copies are being furnished to the U. S. Attorney and Secret Service, Memphis, and to Regional Offices of Military Intelligence.

Source one is [redacted], who furnished information to SA WILLIAM H. LAWRENCE.

Source two is [redacted] (New York 134-9382A-9[redacted] Memphis 100-4394).

Source three is [redacted]

Source four is [redacted] who requested his identity be protected.

3 - Bureau (Encs.11)
15 - Memphis (1 - 157-1092)
(1 - 100-556, Possible Racial Violence Major Urban Areas)
(1 - 100-662, NAACP)
(1 - 170-49, [redacted]
(1 - 170-70 Sub. ME 338-R(Ghetto)
(1 - 170-16, [redacted]
(1 - 170-98, [redacted]
(1 - 157-109, SNCC)
(1 - 100-4528, [redacted] 1 - 100-4321 [redacted]
(1 - 157-957, [redacted]
(1 - 100-4394, [redacted]
(1 - 100-4486, [redacted] 1 - 100-4481 [redacted]
(1 - 66-1687 Sub A, Dissemination) [redacted]

WHL:gmh (18)

170-70 Sub

Approved: _____ Sent _____ M Per _____
Special Agent in Charge

FBI-Withers-1255

Sources three and four, above, also furnished information to SA WILLIAM H. LAWRENCE.

Memphis will follow and report pertinent activities.

FBI-Withers-1256

DECLASSIFICATION AUTHORITY DERIVED FROM:
FBI AUTOMATIC DECLASSIFICATION GUIDE
DATE: 12-23-2010

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to File No.

Memphis, Tennessee
March 1, 1968

Re: SANITATION WORKERS STRIKE,
MEMPHIS, TENNESSEE
RACIAL MATTERS

Beginning at approximately 4 p.m., February 29, 1968, Special Agents of the FBI and representatives of the Memphis Police Department observed another sympathy march sponsored by the Memphis Ministerial Alliance, a group of Negro ministers in Memphis, Tennessee, supporting the sanitation workers strike which began February 12, 1968. This march which began at Clayborn Temple proceeded from the Temple into downtown Memphis and down Main Street to Court Square where the marchers who walked single file on the sidewalks retraced their steps returning to Clayborn Temple. A very few of the marchers walked back and forth in front of a few select downtown stores in an effort to picket the stores as a boycott urging citizens not to patronize the stores in order to bring economic pressure to bear through the storeowners on the Memphis City administration, to settle the strike.

The pickets who were originally scheduled to remain until 9 p.m., when the stores closed on Thursday night, dropped out before 6 p.m.

On the late night of February 29, 1968, a first source advised that a meeting sponsored by the Ministerial Alliance was held in the Mount Pisgah CME (Christian Methodist Episcopal) Church, 2490 Park Avenue, Memphis, Tennessee, in the heart of the Orange Mound Negro area of East Memphis. This church is pastored by Reverend Edward L. Brown. Approximately 500 people were in attendance including several nuns and representatives of the Catholic Church, representatives of an inter-racial group known as the Catholic Council on Human Relations, representatives of another inter-racial private group in the State of Tennessee known as the Tennessee Council on Human Relations, along with various key representatives of the NAACP; the Unity League, a Negro political organization; and many of the members of the Ministerial Alliance.

170-70-Sub-

SANITATION WORKERS STRIKE,
MEMPHIS, TENNESSEE

Reverend Ralph Jackson, also known as Dr. H. Ralph Jackson of the AME Church, Minimum Salary Division, was the main speaker. The primary purpose of the meeting was to raise funds.

While the meeting was in progress, a white traffic patrolman of the Memphis, Tennessee, Police Department, according to source, began issuing numerous parking tickets to various automobiles parked in the immediate vicinity of the church, whereupon the pastor, Reverend Edward L. Brown, Mount Pisgah CME Church, the host pastor, came out and talked to the white officer, whose name was understood to be Carter. Brown tried to explain to Carter that the giving of such a large number of tickets would tend to infuriate those inside; that the Negro ministers in Memphis were sincerely working toward trying to keep the strike in a peaceful, nonviolent vein; and that the issuance of the tickets would probably constitute a general hatred on the part of the strike supporters and the Negro community toward the Memphis Police Department.

Despite this plea, the officer proceeded to insist that he would continue to give the tickets as it was his "duty" to do so; that he could not overlook any violations of the law.

Source one pointed out that in all fairness, several of the cars were illegally parked in that they were too close to fire hydrants and in many instances were tending to block driveways. He pointed out that this is a common practice in both white and Negro churches in the city of Memphis in that when church services are going on or when special meetings are being held in the churches that people tend to park in this manner but normally the traffic ticket violations are not enforced by the Police Department.

FBI-Withers-1258

SANITATION WORKERS STRIKE,
MEMPHIS, TENNESSEE

Brown evidently mentioned the ticketing to Gerald A. Fanion, also known as Jerry Fanion, a male Negro, resident of 561 Edith and currently employed as Director of the Shelby County Department of Community Relations and a member of the Executive Board of the Memphis NAACP. Fanion, who has been following the strike closely according to source one in an effort to head off any trouble, tried to plead with the officer not to ticket these cars and introduced himself as Gerald Fanion of the above Commission and when the officer refused to desist, Fanion who had a camera decided to take a picture of some of the cars with tickets thereon, whereupon the officer told Fanion that he was under arrest for "jaywalking" and placed him in a squad car.

Momentarily, a young male Negro, Edward James Harris, 2751 Barron, employed as a News writer and photographer by the "Tri-State Defender" newspaper, Memphis, Tennessee, Negro weekly, came out and was taking a picture ostensibly of Fanion in the police squad car. In order to take the picture, he came out into the street. The officer allowed him to take the picture and when Harris started to return to the church, the officer called him over and told him that he, too, was under arrest. When Harris inquired as to the reason for said arrest, the officer stated, "For taking my picture."

Actually source one stated that the officer gave Harris a ticket for jaywalking and placed him under arrest, putting him in the squad car with Fanion.

It was understood that a Lieutenant of the Police Department came and shortly thereafter the arresting officers (identity of other partner not known) took Fanion and Harris to Armour Station of the Police Department for booking purposes.

Someone went into the meeting and told Dr. H. Ralph Jackson who was then on the podium that Fanion and Harris had been arrested, whereupon some of the NAACP leaders,

FBI-W thers-1259

including Maxine Smith, Executive Secretary, NAACP, proceeded to Armour Station to make bond for Fanion and Harris, following which they were returned to Mount Pisgah and both Harris and Fanion got up on the podium and told how and under what circumstances they were arrested and also told the audience of the numerous picketing of various cars parked outside.

Source one stated that by this time the situation had become most tense; that many people in the audience wanted to start an immediate march on the Memphis, Tennessee, Police Department; and that this action tended to unify the various factions represented at the meeting who heretofore had been somewhat jealous of each other and had been tending to draw apart in their heretofore unified support of the sanitation strike. Some of the cooler heads present including Henry Logan Starks, President of the Ministerial Alliance, quieted the crowd and the meeting subsequently terminated and was dismissed without any violence or troublesome acts taking place.

Charles Laverne Cabbage and John Burrell Smith, along with Charles Harrington and Charles Ballard, all self-admitted members of the Black Organizing Power (BOP), which according to source, they state is oriented toward the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), stated that they tended to want to make an issue of the arrests and the ticketing and that they were going to have some "action." They stated that they would attend a policy meeting to be held following the rally at the Parkway Gardens Presbyterian Church, Rozelle at South Parkway. They stated that they would meet there with Reverend Ezekiel Bell, pastor of that church, who has been an active leader in the strike support to date.

FBI-Withers-1260

SANITATION WORKERS STRIKE,
MEMPHIS, TENNESSEE

Source stated that more racial tension existed in the Mt. Pisgah Church than he could recall ever having seen in his many, many years in Memphis and he was concerned that there might be sporadic outbursts of trouble as a result.

This information was immediately furnished to Assistant Chief of Police U. T. Bartholomew, then on duty at the Memphis Police Department, who stated that he was aware of the fact that the arrest of Fanion and Harris had taken place but was not familiar with the circumstances and was not aware of the tension which existed. He pointed out that the arresting officer, Ray Carter, had used extremely poor judgment in making the arrests and also in giving the large number of parking tickets and that this action, by one officer, could tend to undo all of the good will that the Memphis Police Department had been attempting to build up since the strike began. He pointed out that the Police Department has "bent over backwards" and exerted every effort to refrain from having to make arrests or to engage in conduct which could be exploited by people having ulterior motives in connection with the strike.

Chief Bartholomew stated that it was his understanding that Fanion and Harris were released on a bond of $10 plus $1 cost, and would normally appear in Memphis City Court on the morning of March 1, 1968.

Source one pointed out that Edward James Harris comes from a rather prominent Memphis Negro family, that his father is a long-time career employee of the Post Office, and that he is a recent graduate of Tennessee State University, Nashville, Tennessee, and is currently a partner of Whittier Sengstacke, Jr., whose father is publisher of "Tri-State Defender" and whose uncle, John Sengstacke, of Chicago, Illinois, is probably the most prominent Negro newsman in the United States, owning a number of large city Negro newspapers.

FBI-Withers-1261

SANITATION WORKERS STRIKE,
MEMPHIS, TENNESSEE

The source pointed out that Gerald A. Fanion has an excellent reputation in Memphis and while Fanion is most talkative, that he has never had any history of being provocative or violent and that it is regrettable in the eyes of the Negro community that two people of this caliber would be arrested on such a trivial charge as "jaywalking."

On the early morning of March 1, 1968, Captain Jewell G. Ray of the Inspectional and Internal Security Bureau, Memphis, Tennessee, Police Department, advised a representative of the FBI that Police Department records show that under Arrest No. 1426, Gerald A. Fanion, born August 24, 1930, a male Negro, age 37, residence 561 Edith, Memphis, Tennessee, was arrested at approximately 9:30 p.m., February 29, 1968, at Park and Cella, along with Edward James Harris, male Negro, age 23. He stated that the charge was jaywalking and that he would appear in Division III, Memphis City Court, March 1, 1968, on this charge. The narrative of the offense which also pertained to Harris stated that while writing a ticket at the intersection of Park and Cella on February 29, 1968, on a Chevrolet bearing Tennessee License BF-3488, which vehicle was parked in front of a fire plug, that a male Negro, later identified as Gerald Fanion, walked out into the center of Park Avenue, standing on the double line, and aimed his camera at the arresting officers, B. J. Middleton, IBM No. 5258, and Ray D. Carter, IBM No. 1254, both assigned to Squad Car 415.

The report continued that Fanion aimed his camera at the two officers and took their picture, at which time they arrested this individual on a charge of jaywalking inasmuch as several cars nearly ran over him as they passed by on Park Avenue. They stated that after they placed him under arrest, they put him in the rear seat of the squad car and called for their Lieutenant, P. Moxley, at which time another male Negro, later identified as Edward James Harris,

FBI-Withers-1262

age 23, crossed the street in the center of the block nearly getting struck by a car and that he, too, was arrested for jaywalking, whereupon the arresting officers transported both of the arrestees to Armour Station where they posted $11 bond apiece to appear in City Traffic Court at 9 a.m., March 1, 1968, Division III.

The arrest ticket concerning Edward James Harris bore Arrest No. 1424 showing that he was arrested on February 29, 1968, at 9:35 p.m.; that his date of birth was September 17, 1944; that he resides at 365 Danny Thomas, Memphis, Tennessee; and that he is employed as a reporter for the "Tri-State Defender" newspaper. The ticket shows that he, too, was arrested at Park and Cella along with Gerald A. Fanion. A report dated February 29, 1968, of the Police Department, prepared by Officers B.J. Middleton and R. D. Carter, both Patrolmen, stated that prior to making the above arrests, they had ticketed six parking tickets and had started to write a seventh when they were approached by Gerald A. Fanion. They pointed out that after arresting Fanion, Harris ran out into the street and started to take a picture of the officers with Fanion in the squad car. Carter and Middleton in their report pointed out that the Minister of the church did come to the car and ask what was happening and that they explained to him what had transpired. The report continued that the arrestees were transported to Armour Station, placed on the docket, and they immediately made bond of $11 each and left the station immediately thereafter. The report stated that their personal effects were never removed from their persons. The report indicated that the reason they arrested Fanion was the fact that he was standing in the middle of the street, moving back and forth in an effort to focus his camera, and was creating a traffic hazard to passing vehicles.

A report prepared by Lieutenant Tom Moxley substantiated in its comments the above information furnished by Middleton and Carter in their report.

FBI-Withers-1263

SANITATION WORKERS STRIKE,
MEMPHIS, TENNESSEE

Later on the early morning of March 1, 1968, the first source advised that the policy meeting had taken place as scheduled at the Parkway Gardens Church and it had ended shortly after midnight in the early a.m. of March 1, 1968; and among the leaders present at the meeting were such prominent ministers as Henry Logan Starks, Pastor of St. James AME Church, 546 Stephens, this being his residence, and who is president of the Interdenominational Alliance; and Dr. H. Ralph Jackson, head of the Minimum Wage Board of the AME Church, one of the more prominent church personalities in the Mid-South area. Another present was Reverend E. M. Johnson of 5183 Horn Lake Road who is an assistant to Dr. Jackson. Also present was Reverend James Morris Lawson, Jr., Pastor of the Centenary Methodist Church, residence 653 Alston, along with Reverend Edward L. Brown, the current pastor of the Mt. Pisgah CME Church; Reverend T. O. Lightfoot of 340 Boyd; Reverend R. W. Norsworthy of 1801 Glenview; Reverend Ezekiel Bell, Pastor of the Parkway Gardens Presbyterian Church, residing 1253 Worthington; and Reverend S. B. (Billy) Kyles, 1155 Greenwood, a Baptist Minister who is most prominent in the NAACP, as is Reverend James M. Lawson, Jr. Also present were Reverend W. Smith of 676 Washington and a Reverend G. E. Patterson of 1495 Shadowlawn, along with Baxton Bryant, a white male, who is Tennessee Executive Director of the Tennessee Council on Human Relations.

Also coming to this meeting were the four black powerites, Charles L. Cabbage of 1924 Rile, John Burrell Smith of 1844 Hanauer, Apartment 2; Charles Harrington of 2075 Rile; and Charles S. Ballard, last known to live at 1830 Kansas.

Source pointed out that Ballard, Harrington and Smith are all students at Owen Junior College, Memphis, and that Cabbage is allegedly a recent graduate of Morehouse College, Atlanta, Georgia. Source stated that as recently as February 28, 1968, Cabbage had admitted having attended some sort of SNCC meeting in Atlanta, Georgia, and that he was in Atlanta from February 22, 1968, until Tuesday, February 26, 1968.

FBI-Withers-1264

SANITATION WORKERS STRIKE,
MEMPHIS, TENNESSEE

Also present at this meeting was Jesse Epps, an International Representative of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees Union (AFL-CIO) which is attempting to gain recognition as the bargaining agent for the Sanitation workers currently on strike in Memphis, Tennessee.

On March 1, 1968, source one continued that at the meeting Charles Cabbage, spokesman for the black power group, stated that his group needed money and needed a car; that if they could obtain these items they would harass the sanitation workers currently working; and coerce them and intimidate them, although he did not elaborate them as to the specific tactics planned to be used by his group.

Many of the ministers present were not even in favor of Cabbage and his followers being heard, although Dr. Ralph Jackson stated that they were entitled to be heard, and after hearing them Jackson and the other ministers stated that they did not believe in violence and could not condone any possible violence which would be perpetrated by Cabbage or any of his group.

Jesse Epps of the Union who was present stated that the Union could not tolerate acts of violence and could not condone anything that was not worked within the framework of law and order. He warned those present that while the majority of the sanitation workers were Negroes and the majority of the supporters were Negroes that the sanitation workers could ill afford to turn this into a war between blacks and whites.

Someone in the audience began to compare Memphis with the Watts area of Los Angeles where a riot occurred about two years ago.

FBI Withers 1265

SANITATION WORKERS STRIKE,
MEMPHIS, TENNESSEE

Reverend James Morris Lawson, Jr., came forth and supported Epps stating that "We have to operate in a nonviolent manner." At this point Charles Cabbage interjected and accused Lawson of "selling out to the Union."

Lawson and others present, identities not recalled, pointed out that by not resorting to violence they still could impede the progress of the current skeleton force being used by the Sanitation Department to pick up garbage. He reminded those present that within the past few years, in eastern cities, and also in Cleveland, Ohio, demonstrators had prevented construction projects by physically throwing their bodies in front of trucks and other heavy equipment and reminded them that in Cleveland a white minister threw himself in front of a bulldozer, and was subsequently run over and killed.

Several of the ministers present, particularly Ezekiel Bell and to a lesser extent Reverend Smith and Reverend Brown, indicated that they might be willing to throw themselves in front of some of the sanitation equipment beginning Monday, March 4, 1968, and take a chance on being arrested as a symbol of protest against the non-striking workers. Further discussion concerning this will take place at the regular weekly meeting of the Ministerial Alliance which normally meets each Saturday at noon. All present agreed to support a mass march in Memphis on Saturday morning, March 2, 1968, primarily to be made up of college and high school students, this march to take place in downtown Memphis and promised to help organize picketing of downtown merchants which would last throughout the day up until 9 p.m., March 2, 1968.

FBI-Withers-1266

They also felt that by March 4, 1968, other Unions in Memphis, Tennessee, which are not subject to the injunction currently in existence against the Local 1733 and its International officers, will come in and take some sort of physical or overt action to support the strike.

Reverend R. W. Norsworthy kept emphasizing that "This is the wrong place to talk about violence. Ministers do not do this. We must remember that we are Christians." Norsworthy was strongly supported in his viewpoint by Reverend Henry Logan Starks and Reverend T. O. Lightfoot who is pastor of the Mount Olive Baptist Church in Memphis, and these three appeared to be steadying influences.

The only one present who gave any encouragement to the black powerites, led by Charles Cabbage, was Baxton Bryant, Director of the Tennessee Council on Human Relations, who gave his business card to Cabbage indicating that he, Bryant, was staying at the Peabody Hotel in Memphis and indicated that he would be glad to talk further with Cabbage and inferred he possibly could get Cabbage and his crew some money and support, although he did not become specific.

The ministers further tentatively agreed to hold a mass demonstration Sunday, March 3, 1968, from 1:30 to 4 p.m. in the Plaza area in front of City Hall, Memphis, Tennessee, where a massive "pray-in" would take place as a memorial to the strikers and at which place those individuals who received parking tickets at the Mount Pisgah Church would in unison burn their tickets as a symbolic protest against the action of the Memphis Police Department.

FBI-Withers-1267

SANITATION WORKERS STRIKE,
MEMPHIS, TENNESSEE

Source one pointed out that it was very apparent in conversation with Cabbage, John Smith, Ballard and Harrington that they do not have money and do not have a car. They indicated that they are able to spot Police Department cruisers, even Detective cars which are unmarked, due to the fact that these cars all have black side-wall tires, and they warned some of their friends who have cars similar in nature that they should immediately get white side-wall tires, lest their cars be mistaken for police cars and possibly be damaged.

Jesse Epps emphasized to those present that the Union has only a few days remaining to keep the strike going due to depletion of funds, due to the temptation on the part of striking workers to go back together, and due to a lack of unified support of the strike by the various organizations in Memphis which heretofore have indicated an interest in supporting the strike.

Epps, along with source one, feels that the two arrests, coupled with the ticketing at Mt. Pisgah Church, is the one issue that will tend to unify all heretofore bickering forces in the city of Memphis and stimulate them into all-out strike activity, and that considerable racial unrest could grow out of this development.

Later on March 1, 1968, Captain J. G. Ray, supra, advised that Gerald A. Fanion and Edward James Harris, whose correct name is Edward James Harris, II, appeared in Division III, Memphis City Court, on the morning of March 1, 1968, before Judge Ray Churchill; that Frank C. Holloman, Director of the Memphis Fire and Police, also appeared in court on behalf of the city of Memphis and recommended to Judge Churchill that the jaywalking charges against Fanion and Harris be dismissed. Mr. Holloman pointed out that the arrest had been a mistake and in the interest of good race relations and peaceful harmony in the community, he

FBI-Withers-1268

felt the charges should be dismissed. Judge Churchill readily agreed and forthwith dismissed the charges and complimented Mr. Holloman, stating that this was the first time in his recollection in the history of Memphis where a high-ranking public official had come into court and made such a plea in the interest of peace and harmony in the community.

Also on March 1, 1968, a second source advised that on the night of February 29, 1968, at a meeting of the Liberal Club, Memphis State University (MSU), a group of young white students, it was urged that all present appear at the Student Center, MSU, at noon on March 1, 1968, for a protest demonstration aimed at gaining support for the sanitation workers strike.

Source two advised that the Liberal Club is for all practical purposes a paper organization but that its current leaders George Leone and Laura Ingram are working closely with Edwina Harrell, female Negro student at MSU, and that the group led by Leone and Ingram, supported by student Walter Mims Ellis and Pamela Conclin, is attempting to form a chapter of the Southern Student Organizing Committee (SSOC) on the MSU campus.

(A characterization of the Southern Student Organizing Committee (SSOC) is attached hereto in the Appendix.)

On the afternoon of March 1, 1968, sources three and four advised that the demonstration at MSU did take place from noon until 1:20 p.m., and that 44 students participated, 33 Negroes and 11 whites; that the group was led by George Leone, Laura Ingram, and Pamela Conclin, along with Edwina Harrell, Gaylon Calhoun and others not known.

FBI-Withers-1269

SANITATION WORKERS STRIKE,
MEMPHIS, TENNESSEE

This group carried placards throughout the Student Center and on the outside of the Student Center and on some of the campus streets nearby, urging that all students at Memphis State University, some 15,000 strong, support the strike and appear at a mass rally to be held in Clayborn Temple at 9 a.m., Saturday, March 2, 1968, to give support to the strike and that they also attend a meeting to be followed by a march on the afternoon of March 1, 1968.

This group passed out handbills setting forth the times of the meetings which showed that they were put out at the Centenary Methodist Church, 584 East McLemore, and at 280 Hernando.

All of the above information was disseminated to Captain J. G. Ray of the Inspectional Bureau, Memphis, Tennessee, Police Department, and to William Bray, 111th Military Intelligence Corps, Third Army, Memphis, Tennessee.

FBI-Withers-1270

SOUTHERN STUDENT ORGANIZING COMMITTEE (SSOC)

On November 1, 1966, a first source advised that the Southern Student Organizing Committee (SSOC) with headquarters at 1703 Portland Avenue, Nashville, Tennessee, was formed on the weekend of April 3-5, 1964, to stimulate activity of Southern student groups in areas of civil rights, peace, academic freedom, civil liberties, capital punishment and unemployment. Originally, it was to be a white counterpart of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC). It has agreed to work with similar interested groups such as SNCC and Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) and Southern Conference Educational Fund, Inc, (SCEF). SSOC is a fraternal affiliate of SDS.

Beginning in the fall of 1966, SSOC became a membership organization and embarked on a campaign to form local chapters on various college campuses throughout the South. SSOC publishes, October through May each year, a publication, "New South Student," which according to the above source has increasingly espoused and defended the pro-Communist and anti-United States position on domestic and foreign policy.

On September 27, 1966, a second source advised that Donald Boner of Nashville, Tennessee, while in attendance at a Communist Party, USA (CPUSA) Youth Conference, Camp Wobatuck, New York, September 12, 13 and 14, 1966, gave a report regarding Nashville, saying that CP personnel were concentrating on organizing rent strikes, working with SSOC and SCEF and establishing a Socialist Study Group for students. He predicted future rioting, which, he said, the CP must take advantage of. He emphasized that more CP youth must be sent South.

On August 12, 1966, a third source advised that Donald Leslie Boner, white male, age 22, of 3105 Louise Drive, Nashville, Tennessee, had been in the CP about four months.

SOUTHERN STUDENT ORGANIZING COMMITTEE (SSOC)

On September 27, 1966, and again on June 2, 1967, the second source advised that during the Summer of 1966 the CPUSA concentrated its youth cadre in organizing projects in several cities in an effort to recruit for and strengthen local CP youth organizations. Nashville, Tennessee, was included in this project. The youth placed in charge of the Nashville project was Donald Leslie Boner, with funds to be made available for three to five full-time organizers in Nashville. Jacqueline Saindon, also known as Jackie, of the CP in New York, New York, a Queens College student, came to Nashville in the Summer of 1966 for this purpose. At the CPUSA Youth Conference held at Camp Wobatuck, New York, September 12, 13 and 14, 1966, Boner reported that effective liaison had been made with SSOC; that contact had also been made with black militants on Nashville Negro college campuses; and that a beginning had been made toward organizing in the Nashville Negro community. He said he thought a riot was possible in the near future in the Negro community and the CP must take advantage of same. He emphasized that some main efforts were to work with SSOC and SCEF. Following the conference, attendees Brian Heggen and Patricia Louise Rabbitt, also known as Patti Rabbitt, traveled to Nashville to join Boner's organizing efforts there.

On February 28, 1967, a fourth source advised that Patti Rabbitt of Seattle, Washington, a member of the Northwest CP District, had gone to Nashville, Tennessee, to organize in connection with a CP assignment.

On June 8, 1967, source five advised that Patti Rabbitt, Brian Heggen, Donald Leslie Boner and wife Carol Stevens Boner are all active members of SSOC in Nashville and that Heggen is now editor of the official SSOC publication, "New South Student."

On July 7, 1967, source six advised that Donald Boner and wife Carol Boner attended a CPUSA Youth Conference at Camp Abelard, New York, July 1 through 4, 1967.

SOUTHERN STUDENT ORGANIZING COMMITTEE (SSOC)

The masthead of the June, 1967, issue of "Southern Patriot," official publication of SCEF, lists Carol Stevens Boner and Anne Braden as Editors and lists Carl Braden as Executive Director.

The "Nashville Banner," Nashville, Tennessee, newspaper issue of May 5, 1967, reported that SSOC was preparing for the May 17, 1967, appearance of Mike Zagarell, National Youth Director, CPUSA, at Vanderbilt University; that Bill Doss, Press Agent for SSOC, on May 12, 1967, brought to the "Banner" office publicity material which the CP had sent to SSOC.

The April, 1967, issue, Volume IV, No. 4, of "New South Student," published each month, October through May, by SSOC, carried an article on page 22 entitled, "CIA American Labor," by Donald Boner, a review of a book entitled, "The CIA and American Labor," authored by George Morris, Labor Editor of "The Worker," east coast Communist newspaper. Boner is described therein as an active member of the Nashville SSOC chapter.

SANITATION WORKERS STRIKE,
MEMPHIS, TENNESSEE

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FBI-Withers-1274

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to File No.

Memphis, Tennessee
March 1, 1968

Title: SANITATION WORKERS STRIKE, MEMPHIS, TENNESSEE

Character: RACIAL MATTERS

Reference: Memorandum dated and captioned as above prepared at Memphis, Tennessee.

All sources (except any listed below) whose identities are concealed in referenced communication have furnished reliable information in the past.

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FBI AUTOMATIC DECLASSIFICATION GUIDE
DATE 12-23-2012

FBI

Date: 3/1/68

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plain text or code)

Via AIRTEL _____
(Priority or Method of Mailing)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI

FROM: SAC, MEMPHIS (157-1092) (P)

SANITATION WORKERS STRIKE,
MEMPHIS, TENNESSEE
RM

Re Memphis teletype 3/1/68 and letterhead memorandum 2/29/68.

Enclosed herewith for the Bureau are 11 copies of a letterhead memorandum dated and captioned as above. Copies are being furnished to the U. S. Attorney and Secret Service, Memphis, and to regional offices of Military Intelligence.

Sources utilized in the enclosed letterhead memorandum are as follows, all of whom were contacted by SA WILLIAM H. LAWRENCE:

Source one
Source two
Source three
Source four

[redacted]

3 - Bureau (Encs.11)
15 - Memphis
(1 - 157-1092)
(1 - 100-662, NAACP)
(1 - 157-556, Possible Racial Violence, Major Urban [redacted]
(1 - 157-109, SNCC)
(1 - 100-4528, [redacted]
(1 - 157-957, [redacted]
1 - 157-1019, [redacted]
(1 - 170-1024, [redacted]
(1 - 170-70 Sub, [redacted] (Ghetto)
(1 - 134-452 Sub, [redacted]
(1 - 170-1022 [redacted]
(1 - 134-493, [redacted]
(1 - 157-927 [redacted]
(1 - 157-938 [redacted]
(1 - 170-98, [redacted]
(1 - 66-1687 Sub A)

WHL:gmh (19)

Approved: _____ Sent _____ M Per _____
Special Agent in Charge

FBI Withers 1276

170-70-Sub

Memphis will follow and report pertinent activities.

FBI-Withers-1277

DECLASSIFICATION AUTHORITY DERIVED FROM:
FBI AUTOMATIC DECLASSIFICATION GUIDE
DATE 07-23-2012

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to File No.

Memphis, Tennessee
March 7, 1968

RE: SANITATION WORKERS STRIKE
MEMPHIS, TENNESSEE
RACIAL MATTERS

On the evening of March 6, 1968, Lieutenant E. H. Arkin, Inspectional Bureau, Memphis, Tennessee, Police Department, advised that on the afternoon of March 6, 1968, Memphis City Judge Ray Churchill continued for 60 days the cases of all 116 garbage strikers and sympathizers who had been arrested in the City Council Chamber "sit-in" late on the afternoon of March 5, 1968. Details of this arrest were set forth in communication at Memphis, Tennessee, dated March 5, 1968. Churchill stated that he would not require any of the arrestees to put up any forfeits or bonds and that this method has been successful in traffic cases. He told them that if there were no violations on their part in the 60-day period, they would be dismissed automatically. He stated, "I think perhaps it was bad judgment going there and saying you would not leave." He told them he hoped that they would take it upon themselves to obey the law and do things in a legal manner. He indicated that he would uphold the Police Department 100 per cent in enforcement of the law, but was just as strong against them if they were not enforcing the law properly. He stated, "We have come a long way in the past two weeks. I can say the law is not going to break down."

The defendants were represented by Negro Attorney W. Otis Higgs, who contended that no disorderly conduct had been shown because the city had claimed that "not leaving the hall" was the reason for the arrests and in that case four Councilmen, plus the policemen who arrested in the Chamber after the City Council was dismissed, should also have been arrested.

11-Bureau
1-USA, Memphis
1-Secret Service, Memphis
1-NISO, Charleston, S.C.
1-OSI, Maxwell AFB, Ala.
1-G-2, 3rd Army, Ft. McPherson, Ga.
1-111th INTC, Memphis
1-111th INTC, Nashville

14-Memphis (1-157-1092; (1-170-70-Sub; 1-157-1070; (1-100-4528; 1-157-957; 1-170-98; (1-100-MALCOM D. BLACKBURN; 1-100-4618; (1-100-4321; 1-100-4480; 1-100-4593; (1-157-109; 1-157-New - FNU NEELY; (1-170-46)

WHL:wp
(32)

170-70-Sub

b7D

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Arkin stated that some of the strike sympathizers had planned to have 2,000 children stay away from school March 6, 1968, in order to escalate the demonstrations in sympathy with the sanitation strike.

He stated that he had learned that Reverend Harold Middlebrook, Assistant Pastor of the Middle Baptist Church and one of the leaders of the sympathy marchers, stated that his group had set up youth action committees in all the schools and that he had called upon all children to take an illegal holiday March 6, 1968, to meet at Clayborn Temple at 8:30 a.m. and to march uptown.

A news story in the March 6, 1968, Memphis Press-Scimitar newspaper had indicated that some of the Black Power advocates in Memphis had also been arrested March 5, 1968, in connection with the sit-in; however, Lieutenant Arkin advised that this was not correct. He pointed out that on the evening of March 5, 1968, following the City Hall Council demonstration, two local Black Power leaders, Charles Steven Ballard of 1830 Kansas, and John Burrell Smith, who gave the police his address as 1915 Rile, had left City Hall in a car driven by one Roy Eugene Taylor, age 23, of 176 Majuba Road, and that Taylor had been arrested by the police on a reckless driving charge after he had allegedly almost run over a Memphis citizen, James Franklin, of 1630 East Holmes Street. Arkin pointed out that Taylor was arrested on a reckless driving charge and that when John Smith and Ballard protested too strongly, they were arrested for disorderly conduct and were booked about the same time as had been the sit-inners.

He pointed out that their cases were also dismissed on March 6, 1968, by Judge Churchill.

A news story by Clark Porteous and Charles A. Brown, both Press-Scimitar reporters, in the March 6, 1968, issue of the Press-Scimitar, final edition, reported that at the March 5, 1968, City Council meeting, Reverend Ezekiel Bell, who was the same person who at the City Council meeting February 22, 1968, called for someone to tear down the City seal, had commented, "We're not going to leave this building until we get what we came for. We

FBI Withers 1279

will be gassed or killed. We are going to stay until Shiloh comes. We didn't come down here to reason with you gentlemen. If you were reasonable, it would have already been settled. The white preachers are too damn scared to tell you what you need to hear. I don't like black rats or white rats or rats. There are rats on the Council. You are not reasonable people. If I thought Memphis was worth it, I'd burn it down myself. All these men (strikers) are asking is dignity and respect. You talk about whether it's the Mayor's or Council's responsibility. If these men were white, you would have already done something. I want you to know you have no backbone. This is a racist town, this is a racist country. You call our sons off to be killed to protect your way of life. They come back here and don't have a place to live. It takes about $350,000 to kill a Vietnam soldier. We ask for the right to have a dues check-off and you say we have no right. The kind of garbage in the newspapers is not worth reading."

The story continued that Councilman Lewis Donelson interrupted and said, "We don't intend to be abused and insulted," and that if Bell did not address the Council with respect, he (Donelson) would move for adjournment. Thereafter, according to the story, Bell replied, "My mother didn't raise any half-witted children. If I'm insulting you by telling the truth, I'm going to keep on telling it."

Following the dismissal of the mass arrestees' cases in City Court by Judge Churchill, a representative of the FBI and a representative of the Memphis Police Department observed the bulk of those people who were in City Court march single-file in an orderly manner down Main Street to Beale Street, where the group dispersed, only to ultimately join with about 100 other strike sympathizers, whereupon the entire group, over 200 in number by this time, marched single-file back up Main Street to the City Hall, turned around and returned to Beale Street, where they dispersed.

Again, beginning about 4:30 p.m., March 6, 1968, Special Agents of the FBI and representatives of the Memphis Police Department observed a group of teenagers, mostly Negro, leave Clayborn Temple, 280 Hernando, with placards, with six young male Negroes near

the head of the formation carrying a coffin. This group marched, two abreast, west on Beale to Main, and north on Main Street to the City Hall, one of the placards reading "Justice is dead in Memphis." Another read "Your Kingdom May Burn Down, King Henry" (referring to Henry Loeb, Mayor of Memphis). As the march progressed, the marchers became louder and more boisterous, shouting, yelling, and singing.

When the group reached City Hall, they sat the coffin at the top of the City Hall stairs, with the marchers forming behind the coffin facing Main Street, and Reverend Harold Middlebrook and Reverend Malcom Blackburn read from their Bibles and conducted what appeared to be a mock burial ceremony for Mayor Loeb and justice in Memphis. Reverend Middlebrook was heard by one of the police officers to say that they were going to march again and again and have the final burial service of Mayor Loeb and justice in Memphis in Loeb's cemetery, which he inferred was the same location as City Hall.

The group returned peacefully down Main Street to Beale Street, and on turning east on Beale, some of the youthful marchers kicked over some pasteboard boxes from the curb into the gutter in front of a business establishment. No arrests were made. Arkin pointed out that sometime during this period, two fire alarms were pulled, resulting in fire equipment being sent into the Beale Street area.

Arkin pointed out that during the evening of March 6, 1968, someone broke a window at Loeb's Laundry, Parkway and Lauderdale, and that some 17 teenage pickets showed up at this location around 8:15 p.m., and later at 9:15 p.m. some of the same demonstrators appeared at the Harlem House, a 24-hour eating establishment on Lauderdale just south of Parkway. At about 9:55 p.m., 45 pickets, made up of mostly teenage Negroes, began picketing Loeb's Barbeque at McLemore and Mississippi. Reverend Malcom Blackburn showed up at this location and walked with the pickets for about two minutes and then left. The pickets finally left the area around 10:40 p.m.

On the morning of March 7, 1968, Lieutenant Arkin advised that also during the night of March 6, 1968, someone threw a rock through a truck of the Red Ball

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Freight Company driven east on Parkway in South Memphis, injuring the driver, James Douglass, age 44, of 3266 Hendricks; that Douglass was taken to John Gaston Hospital to have glass fragments removed from his head and face. Police were able to arrest no one, but learned from witnesses in the area that a gang of youths were seen running from the scene of the incident. Also during the night windows were broken at Loeb's Barbeque at Fourth and Vance and also at the Harris Department Store at Beale and Hernando, both in predominantly Negro areas. Windows were smashed at grocery stores at 423 and 428 South Orleans, also in a Negro area.

Arkin pointed out that it could not be shown at this point that these incidents were directly perpetrated by any of the strike sympathizers and in his opinion were caused by vandalistic youths who had been hearing about the strike and who will utilize the emotion prevalent in the community to commit acts of vandalism.

A story in the Commercial Appeal newspaper on the morning of March 7, 1968, reported that a youth meeting of strike sympathizers was held in Clayborn Temple on the night of March 6, 1968, and reporters were first told to leave and then called back by Pat Mayweather, a Central High School student and Chairman of the Negro Youth Movement, and she was quoted as saying, "We don't advocate going around and saying we are better, but we want to be just as good. We are not militant. We are not for Black Power. We just want equality. You might say we don't know what we are doing here, but we know this is a cause and that it involves black people and we are black and we believe logically that we are involved."

The story reported that Edward Carter, age 21, of 3710 Northwood Drive, the only white youth in the group, said, "I'm here on behalf of all the white people who ought to come out and join this group. You might say I have a vested interest."

Lieutenant Arkin learned that the group of strike sympathizers plans another youth march at 4:00 p.m. on March 7, 1968.

FBI-Withers-1282

RE: SANITATION WORKERS STRIKE, MEMPHIS, TENNESSEE

On the evening of March 6, 1968, William F. Youngson, Jr., Director of Security, Memphis State University, advised that on the afternoon of March 6, 1968, approximately 150 Memphis State University students, coupled with a considerable number of non-students, had a small non-violent demonstration near the Student Center at the Memphis State University campus protesting the sanitation strike, and these individuals were supporting the strikers. This group was led by a white male student, George Leone, who Youngson has learned has been attempting to create some incident where he can create a confrontation with the Memphis State University administration for some time. Youngson's officers saw about five Negro males, obviously not students, leaving the demonstration and getting into a 1967 Pontiac convertible, blue in color, bearing Shelby County, Tennessee, license BV-0903, which, according to registration records, he said, is registered to C. O. Phillips of 1610 Carnegie Street, Memphis, Tennessee. The 1967 City Directory does not list C. O. Phillips but does list a Mrs. Modena T. Phillips, 1610 Carnegie, and shows her as a laundry worker at the Veterans Administration Hospital in Memphis.

On the evening of March 6, 1968, a first source, who has furnished reliable information in the past, advised that during the student demonstration, it was noted that Susan MacDonald and Howard Sidney Chilton III and one Laura Ingram were among the leading participants, along with a large number of unknown Negro students.

This source stated that the above group, including George Leone, have the reputation of being agitators on the Memphis State University campus and are the type people who appear in practically every demonstration which has occurred in recent months.

On March 7, 1968, a second source, who has furnished reliable information in the past, advised that the youth movement in the strike sympathizers' area is rapidly being taken over by the self-acclaimed Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) group in Memphis, which uses the name BOP (Black Organizing Power), headed by Charles Laverne Cabbage of 1924 Rile and John Burrell Smith (supra); that one of their main cohorts is a Memphis State University student, Edwina Jeanetta Harrell, who works part-time in a law office at

FBI-Withers-1283

322½ Beale, Memphis, Tennessee, this being the law office of H. T. Lockard, male Negro, who is currently the Administrative Assistant to Governor Buford Ellington of the State of Tennessee. This source pointed out that the Harrell girl has worked off and on in this office for about a year and a half and has heretofore enjoyed a fine reputation. It has been learned, however, that in the past two months she has spent considerable time with John B. Smith and Charles Cabbage and is now wearing a natural Afro hairdo and has stated that she is the editor of all of the publications being put out by BOP in Memphis.

It is further noted that in connection with another investigation, on February 16, 1968, Edwina Jeanetta Harrell of 2418 Gentry, Memphis, Tennessee, advised representatives of the FBI that she is one of nine individuals who are the governing body of the local BOP, which she inferred is affiliated with SNCC in Atlanta, Georgia, and she pointed out that she is heading an auxiliary of this group known as the Black Student Association (BSA) at Memphis State University and is attempting to organize black students at Memphis State University into the Black Power structure. During the February 16, 1968, interview, at which Charles Cabbage was also present, both of them indicated that they regularly receive SNCC literature from Atlanta, Georgia, which they distribute on a select basis in Memphis, Tennessee.

Source Two furnished some literature which Edwina Harrell stated that she had published which was distributed during the March 6, 1968, Memphis State University demonstration. In one such piece of literature captioned "The Apex" stated "In all the history of the Americas, social change has followed a set pattern in the matters of labor, management, and union. The pattern starts with talks and pickets. When the management refrains from a decision, or tries to stifle the union, the result has always been demonstrations. If, however, these measures fail to affect the desired change, then it is an historically proven fact that violence follows. That is not to say that it need follow in this instance, when arbitration would be such a simple matter. A garbage pile-up is an odd punishment for the Negroes and other poor people of Memphis. They have lived with

garbage all of their lives, and a little more here or there is not going to affect them one way or another. The people who are going to be affected are the East Memphians, who will be forced to live with the same stench and filth that the people in the slums have lived with for generations. It is about time for them to see how the other half lives. If it comes down to an endurance test, one can only guess the consequences, but one need not speculate on one of the results: East Memphis will suffer. And if demands are not met by four o'clock, Friday, March 9, 1968, concerned students and Memphians suggest taking this situation directly to East Memphis in the form of pickets at major East Memphis shopping centers. And the following words are to be directed at Mayor Loeb and the present administration 'Get your eyes off the governor's chair long enough to take a look under your noses and see the problems and do something about them now.'" It concluded with the quote, "Now is the time to change Memphis and Memphis State University!! Now!"

On March 7, 1968, Source Two pointed out that it appears that Charles Cabbage and John B. Smith are gaining numerous young supporters and that while this may not be lasting due to the unpredictability of youth, it does definitely appear that Cabbage has been making friends in practically every neighborhood and that his most recent convert is (FNU) Neely, who hangs out in the Beale Street area of Memphis and who is an Owen College drop-out. Richard Neely, brother of (FNU) Neely, has stated that his brother claims that, according to Cabbage, the young Black Power group will get money and support from certain militant ministers so active in the current strike, such as the white male, Reverend Malcom Blackburn, of the AME Church, who is Pastor of Clayborn Temple, where most of the strike meetings have been held.

Source Two pointed out that it was noted that on the night of March 5, 1968, after a strike meeting at Clayborn Temple, Charles Laverne Cabbage left with International representative of the union, Jesse Epps. Richard Neely, Source Two stated, works at the KB Photo Color Processing Studio in Memphis. Source Two also pointed out that with regard to Roy Eugene Taylor of 176 Majuba Road, as mentioned above, Taylor was actually more or less a victim of circumstances in that he had

picked up John B. Smith and Charles Ballard to give them a ride when he was arrested. Roy Taylor was raised by a grandfather, Jerry Taylor, Sr., on Farrington Street and went to high school with John B. Smith and Charles Cabbage and would have known them. Roy Taylor was quite bitter as a result of the arrest but Source Two feels that he may stay out of the orbit of Cabbage and Smith by virtue of the fact that Judge Churchill dismissed his case in City Court on March 6, 1968. Roy Taylor's father, Jerry Taylor, Jr., has a fine reputation in Memphis, and lives on Reagan Street. His grandfather, Jerry Taylor, Sr., who lives on the 1800 block of Farrington, has an excellent reputation in Memphis and will probably have a salutary influence on his grandson.

Source Two pointed out that such individuals as Jesse Turner, President, NAACP, and NAACP leader Reverend S. Billy Kyles, and Reverend Billy E. Porter of the Church of God in Christ, are hopeful that the strike will soon end. They feel that if the strike does not end by Monday, March 11, 1968, a great majority of the strikers will return to work.

Later on March 7, 1968, Source Two added that it had just been learned that Edwina Harrell had indicated that she had been indoctrinated in the SNCC and Black Power movement while a student at Spelman College, Atlanta, Georgia. She indicated that she had been requested by someone in Atlanta to return to Memphis and work on behalf of Black Power as "they" felt she was needed in Memphis. She did not elaborate.

She also stated that one of her duties in the Black Power or SNCC-oriented movement in Memphis is to type BOP's reports to send off, ostensibly to Atlanta. Source Two stated that Cabbage and his group refer to BOP as an abbreviation for their over-all movement known as Black Organizing Power. Source Two pointed out that as recently as March 6, 1968, Charles Cabbage, in a private conversation, stated in reference to the recent activities in Memphis, "This is a revolution and now is the time for militant and if necessary violent action." Source Two pointed out that this statement was made in private and that it may well have been a figure of speech but that

it is shocking to hear Cabbage made such statements.

All of the above information not furnished by Lieutenant Arkin was furnished to him on March 7, 1968, and this information is being disseminated to representatives of Military Intelligence, Memphis, as well as to the United States Attorney's Office and U. S. Secret Service Office, Memphis.

In addition to the above, the Commercial Appeal newspaper, issue of March 7, 1968, reported that on the afternoon of March 6, 1968, Chancellor Robert Hoffmann on March 6 held seven top sanitation leaders in contempt of his previous court order and gave each a 10-day jail sentence and a $50 fine, but said they could purge themselves by calling off the four-week strike. They were all released on bond subject to their appeal of the Chancery Court ruling to be taken up in the Tennessee Court of Appeals in Jackson, Tennessee. Those named by Hoffmann were Jerry Wurf, International President of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees, and certain officers of Local 1733, AFL-CIO, local of this union. Others specifically named P. J. Ciampa, Field Director; William Lucy, Director of Legislation; Jesse Epps, and Joseph Paisley, International organizers; T. O. Jones, President of the Local; and Nelson Jones, local union steward. The two Joneses were released on $250 bond each. All the union officers, with the exception of Wurf, were released on $500 bond each, and Wurf was released on $1,000 bond. Nelson Jones was included in the contempt citation after a non-striking sanitation worker testified that Jones had made threats to him in a telephone call hours before a brick was thrown through a window in his home with a note wrapped around it warning him not to return to work. At the hearing Ciampa pointed out that Nelson Jones had been carried on the International Union's payroll as an organizer since 1964 or 1965.

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FBI AUTOMATIC DECLASSIFICATION GUIDE
DATE 12 20 2012

FBI

Date: 3/7/68

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plain text or code)

Via AIRTEL _____
(Priority or Method of Mailing)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI

FROM: SAC, MEMPHIS (157-1092) (P)

SUBJECT: SANITATION WORKERS STRIKE
MEMPHIS, TENNESSEE
RM

Re Memphis airtel and LHM 3/6/68.

Enclosed herewith are 11 copies of LHM captioned as above and dated 3/7/68.

Copies are being disseminated to U. S. Attorney, Memphis; U. S. Secret Service, Memphis; and regional offices of Military Intelligence.

3-Bureau (Encs. 11)
15-Memphis
(1 - 157-1092)
(1 - 170-70-Sub - ME 338-R Ghetto)
(1 - 157-1070 [redacted]
(1 - 100-4528
(1 - 157-957
(1 - 170-98
(1 - 100-
(1 - 100-4618
(1 - 100-4321
(1 - 100-4486
(1 - 100-4593
(1 - 157-109 - SNCC)
(1 - 157-New [redacted]
(1 - 170-46 -
(1 - 66-1687-Sub-A - Dissemination File)
WHL:wp
(18)

170-70-Sub [redacted]

Approved: _____ Sent _____ M Per _____
Special Agent in Charge

Source One is [redacted]

Source Two is [redacted]

LEAD

MEMPHIS

AT MEMPHIS, TENN.

Will continue to follow and report pertinent developments.

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DATE 02-22-2012

SAC, MEMPHIS (157-1092) 3/12/68

SA WILLIAM H. LAWRENCE

SANITATION WORKERS STRIKE,
MEMPHIS, TENNESSEE
RM

On 2/23/68, [redacted] advised writer that during the march, 2/22/68, supporting the sanitation strike were MSU students, WILLIAM WRENN RYAN and wife, WANDA STOVALL RYAN. [redacted]

There is a power fight for leadership of the strike, among such frustrated Negro leaders as JESSE TURNER, President, NAACP; O. W. PICKETT, Negro realtor; O. Z. EVERS of the Unity League; EZEKIEL BELL, Pastor, Parkway Gardens Presbyterian Church; REV. JAMES MORRIS LAWSON, JR.; and BAXTON BRYANT of the Tennessee Council on Human Relations.

GERALD FANION, Director of Shelby County Department on Community Relations, told [redacted] that CHARLES L. CABBAGE and JOHN B. SMITH, black power leaders, are trying to bring STOKELY CARMICHAEL, former SNCC leader, to Memphis but don't have the funds.

1 - 157-1092
1 - 170-70-SUB (MX 338-R ghetto)
1 - 100-4339 [redacted]
1 - 100-4338
1 - 100-4528
1 - 157-109 (SNCC)
1 - 157-957 [redacted]

WHL:cjs
(7)

170-70-Sub [redacted]

SERIALIZED
INDEXED
SERIALIZED
MAR 11 1968
FBI — MEMPHIS

DECLASSIFICATION AUTHORITY DERIVED FROM
FBI AUTOMATIC DECLASSIFICATION GUIDE
DATE 11-25-2011

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to File No.

Memphis, Tennessee
March 12, 1968

Re: SANITATION WORKERS STRIKE,
MEMPHIS, TENNESSEE
RACIAL MATTERS

On March 11, 1968, Lieutenant E. H. Arkin, Inspectional Bureau, Memphis Police Department, Memphis, Tennessee, advised that the Memphis sanitation strike which began February 12, 1968, continues, and no end is in sight. He said that no strike support activity was known to have occurred on Sunday, March 10, 1968, but that on the morning of March 11, 1968, about thirty strike sympathizers heckled some of the sanitation workers who are currently working. This was done as the workers left the Democrat Road equipment area of the Sanitation Department where some of the pick-up trucks are stored at night. There were no incidents and no arrests.

He added that a strike supporters' strategy meeting was held at Clayborn Temple CME Church, 280 Hernando, Memphis, late on March 9, 1968, and that Reverend Harold Middlebrook, Assistant Pastor, Middle Baptist Church, a member of the strike strategy committee headed by the Memphis Interdenominational Ministerial Alliance, had at this meeting urged another downtown march in support of the strike for March 11, 1968, and had urged that high school students leave school to participate in the march.

On the morning of March 11, 1968, Lieutenant E. H. Arkin was called to the Northside High School which has about 80 per cent Negro students. The Principal complained that Murray Austin Ervin, age 17, President of the student body, had passed out leaflets calling for students to leave school at noon in an unauthorized school walkout to march in support of the strike in downtown Memphis. He was assisted in this distribution by Alex Johnson, age 18. Ervin and Johnson, both Negro males, were verbally urging students to leave school. When Lieutenant Arkin interviewed them, Ervin, as spokesman, said he had received this literature at Clayborn Temple on

11 - Bureau; 1 - NISO, Memphis; 1 - NISO, Charleston; 1 - G-2, 1 - OSI;
1 - 111th MI, Memphis; 1 - 111th MI, Nashville; 1 - USA, Memphis;
1 - Secret Service, Memphis
4 - Memphis (1 - 157-1092)(1 - 170-70 Sub)(1 - 157-566)(1 - 100-662)
WHL:gmh
(23)

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March 9, 1968. Ervin was very militant, stating that violence was necessary to force the community to settle the strike, but he would not become specific as to what he meant, adding, however, that he hates the white power structure. Ervin told Lieutenant Arkin that Monday, March 9, 1968, would be "turnover day" but would not elaborate. Later, around noon, according to Lieutenant Arkin, a group of some 60 students from Northside High School, as well as from Humes, a predominately Negro junior high school, left school and marched to 280 Hernando. En route they turned over a number of garbage cans and became loud and boisterous. The police refrained from making any arrests. Lieutenant Arkin added that at 11:20 a. m., March 11, 1968, the police were called to G. W. Carver High School, which has an all-Negro student body, and which is located in southwest Memphis. They were called by school officials after two male Negroes, nonstudents, came into the school cafeteria and in a loud and boisterous manner solicited students to walk out of school to participate in a strike support march. When asked by school officials to leave the cafeteria, these two male Negroes refused, reclined on the floor, and officers of the Police Department thereafter arrested them. The arrestees were John Henry Ferguson, residence 1279 Pennsylvania, Memphis, a male Negro, age 20, born September 11, 1947, and Willie James Jenkins, male Negro, age 18, born August 31, 1949, residence 86 West McLemore. Jenkins was suspended from Carver High School in January, 1968, and Ferguson is a dropout. They were charged with Disorderly Conduct and with Resisting Arrest and were later arrested on bond and scheduled to appear in Memphis City Court, March 12, 1968.

[redacted] in the near future the Negro civil rights leader, Bayard Rustin, male Negro and self-admitted former member of the Young Communist League, currently employed by the AFL-CIO working with A. Philip Randolph, head of the Pullman Car Porters' Union, would come to Memphis to speak on behalf of the strikers; that an indeterminate group of Catholic nuns and priests from an

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undisclosed location "out of town" would momentarily come to Memphis and support the strike; and that it is planned for several hundred Negro strike workers, en masse, to attend the Memphis City Council meeting scheduled to be held in the City Hall at Memphis at 2 p.m., March 12, 1968. [redacted] anticipated these people would undoubtedly provoke additional mass arrests in order to gain publicity, pointing out that over one hundred were arrested on Disorderly Conduct charges in the last Council meeting held March 5, 1968.

(The Young Communist League has been designated by the Attorney General of the United States pursuant to Executive Order 10450.)

On March 12, 1968, a first source advised that in addition to Rustin, on Thursday night, March 14, 1968, the strike supporters have scheduled the National Executive Secretary of the NAACP, Roy Wilkins, to speak at a mass strike support rally to be held in Centenary Methodist Church, now located at 564 East McLemore and pastored by Reverend James Morris Lawson, Jr.

REVEREND JAMES MORRIS LAWSON, JR.

On May 9, 1967, source two advised that on a WHBQ-TV panel discussion on Sunday, April 30, 1967, Reverend James Morris Lawson, Jr., Negro male, pastor of the Centenary Methodist Church, Memphis, and who has been a leader in the April, 1967, demonstrations in Memphis opposing United States policy in Vietnam, was asked by Panelist Clark Porteous, "Press-Scimitar" Reporter, if he, Lawson, was a Communist. Lawson replied that he was not a member of the Communist Party, but he felt that the Communist program had many good points and much to offer the United States.

SANITATION WORKERS STRIKE,
MEMPHIS, TENNESSEE

Source one advised that Reverend James Morris Lawson was one of the original founders of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) in 1960 and has since that time been considered as a leader in so-called nonviolent tactics and source recalled that constantly during April, May, June and July, 1967, Lawson regularly participated as a leader in demonstrations in Memphis opposing United States policy in Vietnam.

As recently as February 23, 1968, source one advised that Lawson was preparing to make a trip to Czechoslovakia.

On the same date, source three advised that Lawson had stated on that date that he planned to leave the United States at New York, New York, March 28, 1968, to go to Belgium, Germany, and the Prague, Czechoslovakia, where he would be a delegate to a Christian Peace Conference. The date of the Conference is not known but was presumed by source three to be probably in late March or early April, 1968.

Late on the evening of March 11, 1968, Lieutenant E. H. Arkin advised that the proposed removal of high school students from school had been a failure as only approximately 150 dropped out of school. They held a rally at Clayborn Temple on the afternoon of March 11, 1968, and began a downtown march at approximately 4 p.m., March 11, 1968. As the marchers headed west on Beale Street toward Main Street, they became loud and boisterous and overturned numerous trash cans. At first, the police felt they would have to make mass arrests but through intervention by police officers and some adult Negroes, the youths were sufficiently quieted obviating arrest. He pointed out in order to collect garbage with a limited crew the Sanitation Department has requested all Memphians to place their trash in containers at the curb level of the streets, thus facilitating a rapid pick-up of the debris.

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He stated that these containers are prime targets for youths who may desire to commit acts of vandalism as the containers can easily be overturned and also can be easily ignited.

Later on March 11, 1968, Lieutenant Arkin advised that a second march began around 5 p.m., from Clayborn Temple, in a driving rainstorm. This march was participated in by less than a hundred students, some of whom marched north on Second Street and some on Main Street. They met at Main and Gayoso Street and during the march one female marcher, name not known, became ill at the intersection of Main and Gayoso Street. One of the march leaders, Reverend Ezekiel Bell, male Negro, pastor of the Parkway Gardens Presbyterian Church, accompanied this young woman to the John Gaston Hospital in a City ambulance for emergency treatment. Shortly thereafter the marchers gave up due to inclement weather, and there were no arrests or incidents.

Lieutenant Arkin pointed out that he at first feared rumors might start in the Negro community that the young woman had been injured by the police and that he was relieved that Reverend Bell was actually present so that no unfounded charges against the police could be made at a later date.

Lieutenant Arkin, along with source one, felt that the strike reached a potentially dangerous stage in that it appears that the strikers are rapidly being replaced by new workers and will thus see their jobs disappear. They also feel that the strike has now been taken over primarily by the Negro ministers, headed by Reverend James Morris Lawson, Jr., and primarily supported by Reverend Ezekiel Bell and Reverend H. Ralph Jackson, the latter being Director of the African Methodist Episcopal Church Department of Minimum Salary. According to Lieutenant Arkin and source one, it now appears

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that they are following a stratagem of injecting more youth into the strike support activity, to wit: college students and high school age students; and that youth, being impulsive by nature and receptive to anything which can stimulate excitement, are more prone to commit acts of vandalism, destruction, and even violence. Lieutenant Arkin, as well as source one, fears that more acts of this nature will transpire as the strike progresses.

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UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to File No.

Memphis, Tennessee
March 12, 1968

Title: SANITATION WORKERS STRIKE, MEMPHIS, TENNESSEE

Character: RACIAL MATTERS

Reference: Memorandum prepared at Memphis, Tennessee, dated and captioned as above.

All sources (except any listed below) whose identities are concealed in referenced communication have furnished reliable information in the past.

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

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FBI

Date: 3/12/68

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plain text or code)

Via AIRTEL _____
(Priority or Method of Mailing)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI

FROM: SAC, MEMPHIS (157-1092) (P)

SANITATION WORKERS STRIKE,
MEMPHIS, TENN,
RM

(OO: Memphis)

Re Memphis teletype dated 3/11/68.

Enclosed herewith for the Bureau are 11 copies of LHM dated and captioned as above. Copies are being furnished to U. S. Attorney and Secret Service, Memphis, and to Regional Offices of Military Intelligence.

Sources used in enclosed LHM are as follows:

Source One
Source Two
Source Three [redacted] (who requested his identity be protected).

3 - Bureau (Encs.11)
(5) - Memphis
(1 - 157-1092)
(1) - 170-70 Sub (ME 338-R(Ghetto)
(1 - 157-556, Possible Racial Violence, Major Urban Areas)
(1 - 100-662, NAACP)
(1 - 66-1687 Sub A, Dissemination)

WHL:gmh
(8)

Approved: RGJ _____ Sent _____ M Per 170-70 Sub
Special Agent in Charge

DECLASSIFICATION AUTHORITY DERIVED FROM
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DATE 01-23-2012

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to File No.

Memphis, Tennessee
March 13, 1968

RE: SANITATION WORKERS STRIKE
MEMPHIS, TENNESSEE;
RACIAL MATTERS

On March 12, 1968, Lieutenant E. H. Arkin, Inspectional Bureau, Memphis, Tennessee, Police Department, advised that with regard to the arrest made at Carver High School, Memphis, on March 11, 1968, of two male Negroes, John Henry Ferguson and Willie James Jenkins, who were arrested when they endeavored to induce students to "walk out" of school in support of the sanitation strike in Memphis which has been in existence since February 12, 1968, they both appeared in Memphis City Court, March 12, 1968. They appeared before Special Judge M. A. Hinds, Jr., who fined each of them $10 and costs on a Resisting Arrest charge. Judge Hinds dismissed the city charges of Disorderly Conduct against each but bound both of them over to the State of Tennessee, and to the Shelby County Grand Jury, on State charges of Disorderly Conduct, both of them being released on State bonds of $250 each.

Also on March 12, 1968, a first source advised that a strike strategy sympathy meeting was held in Clayborn Temple, 280 Hernando, Memphis, on the night of March 11, 1968; that it was announced there that Roy Wilkins, National Executive Secretary of the NAACP of New York, New York, would come to Memphis to address a strike support rally to be held in Centenary Methodist Church, Memphis, Tennessee, on the night of March 14, 1968, and that efforts would also be made to bring civil rights spokesman Bayard Rustin to Memphis in the indefinite future in an effort to bolster and stimulate support of the strike.

11 - Bureau; 2 - NISO, Memphis; 1 - NISO, Charleston; 1 - C-2; 1 - OSI
1 - 111th MI, Memphis; 1 - 111th MI, Nashville; 1 - USN, Memphis;
1 - Secret Service
10 - Memphis (157-1092)(1 - 157-558)(1 - 100-662)(1 - 170-70 Sub)(170-15)
(1 - 170-1040)(170-1019)(157-109)(100-4528)(157-657)(1-66-1637 Sub A)
WHL:gah (29)

170-70 Sub

FBI Withers 1298

RE: SANITATION WORKERS STRIKE
MEMPHIS, TENNESSEE

Source One added that the Memphis Interdenominational Ministers Alliance, made up of approximately 100 Memphis Negro ministers and the current main support of the strike, called for a mass march on Memphis City Hall and the Memphis City Council which meets therein on the afternoon of March 12, 1968. Reverend Ezekiel Bell, of the Parkway Gardens Presbyterian Church and a member of the Ministers Alliance, urged those who planned to participate in this march to be prepared to "sit in" Council Chambers indefinitely when they arrive on the afternoon of March 12, 1968. Source One recalled that it was on Tuesday, March 5, 1968, that over 100 of those attending the Council meeting were arrested for disorderly conduct after they refused to leave when the Council adjourned.

Source One stated that it appeared that Bell was attempting to tell them to provoke disorderly conduct arrests on March 12, 1968.

On the afternoon of March 12, 1968, representatives of Memphis Police Department were advised, as was Military Intelligence, of the above proposed plans.

On the afternoon of March 12, 1968, Special Agents of the FBI and representatives of the Memphis Police Department observed approximately 200 Negro adults march from Clayborn Temple, 280 Hernando, to the Memphis City Hall, located at Adams and Main, and seat themselves in the City Council Chamber, which has a 407 persons seating capacity.

On the afternoon of March 12, 1968, Special Agents of the FBI and representatives of the Memphis Police Department observed a portion of the City Council meeting where the strike demonstrators were in attendance as spectators. During the meeting, Councilman J. O. Patterson, Jr., a Memphis attorney, male Negro, and one of the three Negro members of the Council, who is also a member of the Tennessee State Legislature, attempted to introduce a resolution or ordinance which would permit City employees who belong to labor unions to have a dues check-off for the Union in the form of payroll deductions.

The Council refused to accept a resolution for such an ordinance, whereupon the Negro attendees immediately left the Council Chambers and congregated in the large lobby

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of the City Hall just outside the doors of the Council Chambers. Numerous Negro leaders in the City of Memphis were in this "walk out" group including Reverend James Morris Lawson, Jr., pastor of Centenary Methodist Church; Reverend S. B. Kyles, Labor Director of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP); Maxine Smith, Executive Secretary of the NAACP, Memphis; Reverend Ezekiel Bell, pastor of Parkway Gardens Presbyterian Church; and an individual tentatively identified as H. Ralph Jackson, of the African Methodist Episcopal (AME) Church.

Reverend Kyles spoke before television cameramen and newsmen and addressed the audience, stating, "There is no justice for blacks at City Hall," whereupon he was loudly cheered. He was followed by Reverend James Morris Lawson, Jr., who spoke, saying, "We have to escalate our fight," and he emphasized that he would bring a wave of national civil rights leaders and other individuals from other parts of the country to Memphis to aid in the current strike struggle and also emphasized that Roy Wilkins, National Executive Secretary of the NAACP, would appear in town on March 14, 1968, and possibly Bayard Rustin of the A. Philip Randolph Institute would come to Memphis to address the strike supporters.

Reverend Lawson called for all of the protesters to march en masse to Clayborn Temple where they would hold a rally, following which they would all go to his church, the Centenary Methodist Church, 564 East McLemore, for a mass rally on the night of March 12, 1968.

Lieutenant E. H. Arkin, Inspectional Bureau, Memphis Police Department, advised that leaflets were being passed out at various Memphis high schools urging all Negro high school students to stay away from school on Wednesday, March 15, 1968, and to spend the day in strike support activities. Lieutenant Arkin advised that one of the activities scheduled would be a picketing of Central High School in Memphis where Mayor Henry Loeb is scheduled to speak at 8:45 a.m. before the student body.

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SANITATION WORKERS STRIKE,
MEMPHIS, TENNESSEE

On the late afternoon of March 12, 1968, a second source advised that he had learned most reliably that Hosea T. Lockard, Negro male, Memphis attorney, who is currently Administrative Assistant to Tennessee Governor Buford Ellington, came to Memphis on the afternoon of March 12, 1968, and had a long conference with Mayor Henry Loeb, during which Lockard urged Loeb in the interest of racial harmony to do all that he could to settle the strike, even to the point of going on television and spelling out to the strikers and to the community just what benefits in the form of wage increases, health and accident increases, pension funds, and other work-related benefits he would be willing to offer the strikers, feeling that if the strikers and the people of the community, both Negro and white, were to realize emphatically what the Mayor was willing to offer, that the strikers might be willing to return to work.

Source two, who is extremely close to the Negro leadership of Memphis, stated that privately most of the members of the Memphis Interdenominational Ministerial Alliance, now using the name of COME which means "Citizens on the Move for Equality," would like to see the strike settled; that such NAACP leaders as Jesse Turner, President of the Memphis Branch of the NAACP, would like to see the strike settled; but that these individuals are reluctant to come forth for the reason that they fear they will lose face and lose political power in the community by being referred to by the militant elements as "Uncle Toms."

On the morning of March 13, 1968, a third source advised that a massive strike support rally was held in the Centenary Methodist Church on the night of March 12, 1968. This source advised that several individuals, allegedly connected with the black power movement, were present, although they did not speak; and that the meeting was chaired by Reverend S. B. Kyles, with one of the featured speakers being Reverend Ezekiel Bell who made an impassioned speech to the effect that if Memphis was not a "city for all the people, there would be no city at all." Reverend H. Ralph Jackson

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spoke, stating that he was concerned regarding "police snitchers" and that if he found any police department officers or informants in the midst of any of the strike rallies that he would not stop them from being beaten up.

Dr. Vasco A. Smith, Jr., urged all of the strike supporters to stick together and not to allow themselves to be intimidated by the police and that even if the police used Mace, the debilitating chemical, on them they should not be afraid and should not run.

Reverend Kyle announced that another mass meeting would be held on the evening of March 13, 1968, at St. Paul's Baptist Church, Greenwood and McLemore, and announced that Roy Wilkins of the NAACP would speak on the night of March 14, 1968. He stated that due to the fact this would be a mass rally, it would be moved to Mason Temple of the Church of God in Christ on Mason Street which is the largest church auditorium in the city of Memphis. Reverend Kyle called for a mass picketing of downtown Memphis to follow a rally at Clayborn Temple at 3 p.m., March 13, 1968, and for regular picketing and boycotting of the downtown area. He also called for a strategy meeting of COME to begin at 9 a.m., March 13, 1968, at Mason Temple to organize all-day picketing.

Source three added that Thomas Oliver Jones, President of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees (AFL-CIO), which is the striking union, made a speech in which he stated that even though he was under injunction in Chancery Court he was most frustrated and would be willing to do most anything to end this strike. Jones added that he had at least 75 Negro volunteers who would do most anything to end the strike and that if it was necessary to burn the community, they would probably be willing to do so.

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SANITATION WORKERS STRIKE,
MEMPHIS, TENNESSEE

Source three pointed out that this could have well been a mere figure of speech but stated that there has been a lot of talk of burning, fighting and other nonspecific acts which could logically be construed to be of a violent nature.

On March 13, 1968, Lieutenant E. H. Arkin advised that a reliable source of the Memphis Police Department confirmed in detail the information furnished by source three, adding that the Police Department source stated that about ten to twelve young male Negroes, allegedly black power advocates, were at the March 12, 1968, meeting and some of them wore the word "Invaders" on the back of their jackets.

Lieutenant Arkin pointed out that many of the followers of Charles Laverne Cabbage and John B. Smith, the two self-acclaimed black power leaders in Memphis, wear these words on their jackets.

It is to be noted that in connection with another investigation on February 16, 1968, Charles Laverne Cabbage and John B. Smith, the latter living at 1644 Hanauer Street, Apartment 2, advised that they are the leaders of a black power movement in Memphis known as Black Organizing Power (BOP); that they are attempting to charter this organization; that it is oriented toward the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC); and that they are establishing chapters on the Memphis State University (MSU) campus, the LeMoyne College campus, and the Owen College campus and in other areas of Memphis.

In this connection, on the morning of March 13, 1968, a fourth source advised that as recently as March 6, 1968, Charles Laverne Cabbage indicated that he was being closely watched by the Police and the FBI, and he had to be careful about his activities. He stated he was convinced that the white power structure in Memphis was dedicated to the destruction of the black man; and he stated that some of the whites would probably try to kill off some of the more militant black men, including himself, and that he was not going to take this "lying down." In this connection he

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stated that he had obtained a gun which he described as a "Russian-type gun," not further described. He stated that it was impossible to get ammunition for this weapon in Memphis and that he would have to get it out of Alabama or Georgia. He stated that when the weather gets warm he would need this gun to protect himself against the whites who are dedicated to killing him and his followers.

The fourth source further advised that Cabbage emphasized that in an effort to build his black power organization he is branching out, developing contacts in various neighborhoods in an effort to organize a militant black power group. He emphasized that he has been most successful on the college campuses in Memphis and that he has been most fortunate by being able to take an active part in the current sanitation strike, adding that only recently both John Burrell Smith and he had been able to make talks at some of the strike support meetings.

Source four pointed out that he has not personally seen any weapons in the possession of Cabbage, John Smith, or any of their followers, although beginning as early as July of 1967, Cabbage and John Smith had on various occasions made statements to the effect that Memphis should burn and that there needed to be a good race riot in Memphis. He stated that they are well known in the southwest area of Memphis as being militant black power advocates and that while they have a small following to date any emotional or explosive issue could "set off" the younger irresponsible element of the Negro community into mass actions which could lead to a riotous situation.

Source four pointed out that so far this problem has remained in the "talk" stage and that he feels that a lot of the talk made by such people as Cabbage is done in an effort to "shock" their listeners and is also done to inflate their individual egos.

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SANITATION WORKERS STRIKE,
MEMPHIS, TENNESSEE

The above information was immediately, on the morning of March 13, 1967, furnished to Lieutenant E. H. Arkin, Inspectional Bureau, Memphis Police Department, and to William Bray of the 111th Military Intelligence Group, Third Army, Memphis, Tennessee.

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UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to File No.

Memphis, Tennessee
March 15, 1968

Re: SANITATION WORKERS STRIKE,
MEMPHIS, TENNESSEE
RACIAL MATTERS

The "Commercial Appeal," Memphis, Tennessee, daily newspaper, issue of March 14, 1968, reported that Martin Luther King, Jr., head of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC) of Atlanta, Georgia, and who is scheduled to be in Clarksdale, Mississippi, March 19, 1968, is being implored by various Memphis Negro ministers to come to Memphis, Tennessee, in support of the sanitation strike which has been in existence since February 12, 1968. The newspaper also reported that Reverend James Morris Lawson, Jr., leader of the strike sympathizers and former associate of King, told the newspaper, "We have no comment at this time."

REVEREND JAMES MORRIS LAWSON, JR.

On May 9, 1967, source one advised that on a WHBQ-TV panel discussion on Sunday, April 30, 1967, Reverend James Morris Lawson, Jr., Negro male, pastor of the Centenary Methodist Church, Memphis, and who has been a leader in the April, 1967, demonstrations in Memphis opposing United States policy in Vietnam, was asked by Panelist Clark Porteous, "Press-Scimitar" Reporter, if he, Lawson, was a Communist. Lawson replied that he was not a member of the Communist Party, but he felt that the Communist program had many good points and much to offer the United States.

Source two advised that Reverend James Morris Lawson was one of the original founders of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) in 1960 and has since that time been considered as a leader in so-called nonviolent tactics and source recalled that constantly during April, May, June and July, 1967, Lawson regularly participated as a leader in demonstrations in Memphis opposing United States policy in Vietnam.

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170-70-Sub

SANITATION WORKERS STRIKE,
MEMPHIS, TENNESSEE

As recently as February 23, 1968, source two advised that Lawson was preparing to make a trip to Czechoslovakia.

On the same date, source three advised that Lawson had stated on that date that he planned to leave the United States at New York, New York, March 28, 1968, to go to Belgium, Germany, and to Prague, Czechoslovakia, where he could be a delegate to a Christian Peace Conference. The date of the Conference is not known but was presumed by source three to be probably in late March or early April, 1968.

On the morning of March 14, 1968, Lieutenant E. H. Arkin, Inspectional Bureau, Memphis, Tennessee, Police Department, advised that on the late night of March 13, 1968, a police squad car was hit by rocks and bottles after answering a call that several hundred young Negroes had congregated near Cypress Junior High School in a Negro neighborhood in Memphis. Damage to the squad car was negligible and reinforcement squad cars immediately came to the area and dispersed the crowd with no further incidents.

He stated that a window of Loeb's Barbecue was broken during the night, commenting that this establishment is owned by William Loeb, brother of Memphis Mayor Henry Loeb, who is currently negotiating with the strikers and who appears to be the object of the vent of the strikers and strike sympathizers.

Lieutenant Arkin added that on the morning of March 14, 1968, approximately 25 Negro pickets headed by a white male, Reverend Malcolm Douglass Blackburn, pastor of Clayborn Temple, 280 Hernando, African Methodist Episcopal (AME) Church, where numerous strike support meetings have been held, began picketing the truck parking area of the Sanitation Department on Democrat Road at Airways Boulevard,

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from which point each morning approximately 50 sanitation trucks leave to pick up garbage throughout the city of Memphis. Lieutenant Arkin pointed out that some 300 individuals are working despite the strike, that many of them are new employees who have been hired since the strike started, and that much animosity has built up on the part of the strikers and their sympathizers against these persons who are working.

At first Blackburn and one Negro stood in the roadway at the exit of the sanitation storage area, refusing to allow trucks to leave. Police officers told them that they had 15 minutes in which to disperse, otherwise they would be arrested for obstructing the trucks, and during this 15-minute period four other male Negroes joined Blackburn and his associate, resulting in all six being arrested, without incident, by representatives of the Memphis Police Department; and each was charged with a State charge of Disorderly Conduct and "Conspiracy to Interfere with Public Health, Trade and Commerce."

This arrest, according to Lieutenant Arkin, took place at approximately 7:40 a.m., March 14, 1968, and those arrested were as follows:

Malcolm Douglass Blackburn, white male, born May 27, 1927, residence 857 Woodland, Memphis.

Willie James Kimp, male Negro, age 22, born September 24, 1945, residence 1015 Palermo, Memphis. (Lieutenant Arkin advised that Kimp was also arrested in connection with a disturbance on Main Street in Memphis on March 13, 1968, as previously reported in a communication dated March 13, 1968.)

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SANITATION WORKERS STRIKE,
MEMPHIS, TENNESSEE

William Talley, male Negro, age 54,
born May 7, 1913, residing 428 East Calhoun.

Albert Pigram, male Negro,
born October 20, 1920, residing 923 Lee Street.

Williamson Walton, male Negro, age 46,
residing 1031 Tupelo, Apt. 3,
date of birth February 13, 1922.

Jake Woods, male Negro, age 29,
born May 12, 1938, residing 2799 Hale Street,
Memphis. He has an alias of M. C.

Lieutenant Arkin added that Blackburn had previously been arrested on a disorderly conduct charge when he refused to leave City Hall on March 5, 1968.

These six individuals were scheduled to appear in Memphis City Court at 9 a.m., March 15, 1968, and were released on their own recognizances by City Judge Bernie Weinman.

Later on March 14, 1968, Lieutenant Arkin added that 30 youthful demonstrators, including 10 girls, were arrested at Third and Pontotoc during the mid-afternoon of March 14, 1968, after police officers had observed them blocking traffic at this intersection and creating a disturbance when they attempted to stop the movement of a sanitation truck picking up trash in that area. These individuals were arrested without incident, although some bystanders, according to Lieutenant, claimed that the police had used Mace, the debilitating chemical, in connection with the arrests but Lieutenant Arkin emphasized that this had not been the case. He stated that one or more Negro women living in the area had allegedly told newsmen that Mace was used, that the Inspectional Bureau of the Police Department interviewed these women, and that they told conflicting stories and were finally examined by doctors at the City Hospital, John Gaston Hospital, Memphis, who determined to the best of their ability that there was no evidence on their faces of any chemicals having been used thereon.

FBI-Withers-1309

SANITATION WORKERS STRIKE,
MEMPHIS, TENNESSEE

Lieutenant Arkin stated that this youth march which had originated at Clayborn Temple shortly prior thereto was led by Reverend Harold A. Middlebrook, age 26, residing 257 Walker, Memphis, and that he was assisted in this venture by Reverend Roosevelt Joyner, age 24, residing 911 Grove. Both Middlebrook and Joyner were among those arrested and both denied that the youths created a disorderly situation and blamed police for disrupting what they, Middlebrook and Joyner, referred to as a peaceful demonstration.

Lieutenant Arkin pointed out that among those arrested were John Burrell Smith, male Negro, who resides at 1644 Hanauer, Apartment 2, and who is a student at Owen Junior College, and his associate Charles S. Ballard, an Owen College student.

It is noted that on February 16, 1968, in connection with another FBI investigation, Charles S. Ballard and John B. Smith, both volunteered to representatives of the FBI that they were part of a small governing body of what they referred to as Black Organizing Power (BOP), a Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) oriented black power group, which they were establishing in the city of Memphis.

Lieutenant Arkin added that 17 of those arrested were juveniles, 18 years of age or under, and that they were released by the police after their parents were contacted and came to assume custody of them. He advised that the adults arrested were released by Judge Bernie Weinman on their own recognizances, all scheduled to appear in Memphis City Court on March 15, 1968.

Lieutenant Arkin added that with regard to the 9 youths who were arrested on March 13, 1968, reported in the communication dated March 14, 1968, Judge Weinman held all of these individuals to the State of Tennessee on a State Disorderly Conduct charge and set their bond at $250 each. He dismissed the Night Riding charges which had originally been placed against them.

FBI-Withers-1310

SANITATION WORKERS STRIKE,
MEMPHIS, TENNESSEE

On the late night of March 13, 1968, a fourth source who has furnished reliable information in the past advised that on the night of March 13, 1968, at a meeting of the Liberal Club, Memphis State University (MSU), attended by both white and Negro students, that it was decided by a dissident, admitted "new left" element headed by students George Leone, Mary Helen Evans, and Jim Walker Cooper, as well as by a Negro student Morgan McCraw, who represented the Black Student Association (BSA), to picket and harass Memphis Mayor Henry Loeb when he appeared on the MSU campus on March 14, 1968, to give a talk in the school auditorium in connection with the business fair being conducted by the Business Administration School at MSU.

At this same meeting, a group headed by Jim Walker Cooper, Walter Mims Ellis, and Pamela Conclin, all MSU students, decided to try to form a Students for Democratic Society (SDS) chapter at MSU and agreed to have a meeting in this regard for the purpose of forming such a chapter on Monday, March 18, 1968.

(A characterization of the SDS is set forth in the Appendix Section.)

On the early morning of March 14, 1968, the above information was orally furnished to Lieutenant E. H. Arkin; to William Bray, 111th Military Intelligence, Third Army, Memphis; to Hugh Bauer of the Tennessee Bureau of Criminal Identification (TBCI); and to William F. Youngson, Director of Security, MSU.

Mr. Youngson advised that someone had anonymously distributed handbills on the MSU campus, which consists of 15,000 students, stating that there would be no classes held from 10:45 a.m. until noon on March 14, 1968, in order that all students could hear Henry Loeb and that free refreshments would be served. He pointed out that this was a hoax and that it might have some connection with the planned demonstration.

FBI Withers 1311

SANITATION WORKERS STRIKE,
MEMPHIS, TENNESSEE

Later on March 14, 1968, Mr. Youngson reported that Mayor Loeb had appeared as scheduled and had spoken in the MSU auditorium, following which he visited the Business School Fair, and up to this point the pickets had not appeared. As Mayor Loeb was driving off the campus, the pickets suddenly appeared, walking down one of the campus streets. Mayor Loeb insisted on stopping his car, got out of the car, went among the students, and a heated discussion took place between Mayor Loeb and some of the student leaders, including Edwina Harrell, female Negro, one of the leaders of the Black Student Association (BSA) on the MSU campus.

Mr. Youngson pointed out that unfortunately the news media was present, along with television cameramen, and that all of this was recorded for the news media, which actually built up the egos of those demonstrators consisting of approximately 150 students, the vast majority of whom were Negroes. He pointed out that Mayor Loeb invited the students to visit with him on his regular Thursday afternoon conferences with interested citizens and that he felt that Mayor Loeb was inviting trouble and was giving a publicity build-up to a group which did not deserve it.

Mr. Youngson stated that there were no incidents, other than a shoving match, between an unidentified white and an unidentified Negro, which was soon stopped by some of the students. No arrests were made and none are anticipated.

It will be noted that on February 16, 1968, in connection with another FBI investigation, Edwina Jeanetta Harrell, of 2418 Gentry, a Douglass High School graduate, Memphis, Tennessee, volunteered to representatives of the FBI that she is a member of the governing body of the hereinbefore mentioned Black Organizing Power (BOP), and that she is the BOP representative on the MSU campus and is working to form a BSA on the MSU campus, which will be oriented in the black power concept.

FBI-Withers-1312

SANITATION WORKERS STRIKE,
MEMPHIS, TENNESSEE

Also on March 14, 1968, source two advised that Edwina Harrell is the girl friend and close companion of Charles L. Cabbage, male Negro, who it will be noted also volunteered to representatives of the FBI on February 16, 1968, that he is the leader of the BOP movement in Memphis, Tennessee.

Also on March 14, 1968, Lieutenant E. H. Arkin, advised that strike support leaders headed by the Negro ministers of the Memphis Interdenominational Ministerial Alliance are urging high school students, particularly Negro students, to remain out of school on March 14 and 15, 1968, to conduct numerous downtown sympathy marches in connection with the strike.

On March 14, 1968, source two, who has remained close to the Negro element in Memphis and to the strike supporters, advised that racial tension is building up in Memphis; that each arrest and each march or demonstration tends to build up emotion and in some instances hatred on the part of the Negroes to the city administration and in particular to Mayor Henry Loeb who they consider as their enemy and against the Memphis Police Department because this agency is charged with the responsibility of maintaining law and order; and that it is this agency which sends its representatives to escort all marches and demonstration. The Negro community is particularly bitter because the Police Department has sent many Negro officers in plain clothes to strike support meetings and several of them have thus far been exposed. He stated that the longer the strike continued, the more bitter feeling would become and the more conscious the Negroes would be of their need for a unified effort against the city government; and he said that all of this could lead to possible sporadic incidents, outbursts and possible vandalism which could only culminate in more arrests, further compounding the tension existing in Memphis.

FBI-Withers-1313

SANITATION WORKERS STRIKE,
MEMPHIS, TENNESSEE

Source two also advised that considerable jealousy is developing within the strike support leadership and that Reverend James Morris Lawson, Jr., appears to be the brains and the bellwether of the Ministerial Alliance which is primarily supporting the strike. He stated that Charles L. Cabbage, who heads the BOP movement in Memphis, which heretofore has been extremely small but having support on the three Memphis campuses of LeMoyne, Owen and Memphis State University, has built up a following among youth in Memphis to a limited scale. Cabbage on March 14, 1968, commented that he is attempting to build up support for his BOP movement in the Memphis high schools and is using the sanitation strike as a vehicle in order to stimulate interest on the part of Negro youths in his black power movement.

According to source two, Cabbage stated that he had been in Atlanta, Georgia, for two or three days prior to March 13, 1968, to get advice and guidance and he inferred that he had been in contact with representatives of the SNCC there. Cabbage on returning to Memphis read a story which recently appeared in the Memphis "Commercial Appeal" indicating that Reverend Lawson controlled the black community, and Cabbage bitterly resented this. He tried to call Lawson on the night of March 13, 1968, to challenge him in regard to this purported Negro leadership but was unable to make contact. Cabbage now appears to be extremely jealous of James Morris Lawson who ironically was the one who gave Cabbage impetus during the summer of 1967 when Lawson put Cabbage and John B. Smith, his associate, on the payroll of the Memphis poverty agency, known as the Memphis Area Project - South (MAPS).

Also on March 13, 1968, according to source two, Cabbage commented that he had purposely been staying in the background recently in an effort to coordinate black power activities in the city of Memphis and had been letting his associate John B. Smith get the publicity and be the "front man." He stated, however, that if Lawson insists on getting all of the publicity, he, Cabbage, will come out from the background and come into the limelight in a manner in which he did not describe.

FBI-Withers-1314

SANITATION WORKERS STRIKE,
MEMPHIS, TENNESSEE

Also on March 14, 1968, Lieutenant Arkin and source five both independently stated that based on their close observations and contacts with some of the young, more militant strike supporters, three individuals in particular have been agitating abrasive action to promote police arrests of some of the strike supporters in an effort to get publicity and to harass the police. These individuals are John Henry Ferguson, also known as "Crazy Man Onion," male Negro, age 20, born September 11, 1947, residing 1279 Pennsylvania, Memphis; and Peter Bell, male Negro, age 22, born June 21, 1945, residing 652 Richmond, as well as Willie James Kimp, male Negro, age 23, born September 24, 1945, residing 1015 Palermo. It will be noted that Ferguson has been arrested twice, namely on March 11 and again on March 13, 1968, and that Kimp was arrested March 13 and again on March 14, 1968.

The "Commercial Appeal" newspaper, issue of March 15, 1968, reported that "Two of the nation's top figures in the civil rights movement" appeared at Mason Temple on the night of March 14, 1968, before 9,000 supporters and that these two individuals were Roy Wilkins, Executive Director of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), and Bayard Rustin, an official of the A. Philip Randolph Institute. The paper also reported that Rustin said, "The city of Memphis ought to be ashamed of itself for its position in the strike of 1300 sanitation workers," and that Wilkins pointed out the large percentage of Negro voters as a tool to gain concessions and repeatedly urged a course of nonviolence in connection with the current strike situation. Rustin was reported as comparing the current strike to the 1955 Montgomery, Alabama, bus boycott and called the strike "one of the greatest struggles for the emancipation of the black man today." He further said, "This becomes the symbol of the movement to get rid of poverty." He stated, "It is written that where there is justice, order will maintain it; where there is injustice, disorder is inevitable."

FBI-Withers-1315

SANITATION WORKERS STRIKE,
MEMPHIS, TENNESSEE

The story continued that when the audience responded loudly to Wilkins' declaration that "You have given enough in forebearance," that Wilkins replied to the audience, "I don't mean to go out and tear up the town. This is your town, just like it's a lot of other peoples' town, and you've got to live in it. Don't foul your nest but don't give an inch." Wilkins was quoted as saying, "I didn't come here to make threats but anybody who runs around picking on peaceful people is building for trouble. I don't mean riots, but when you plant that kind of seed in the population it takes years to get out." The paper said he was referring to the police use of Mace on marchers.

FBI-Withers-1316

STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY (SDS)

The Students for a Democratic Society (SDS), as it is known today, came into being at a founding convention held at Port Huron, Michigan, in June, 1962. The SDS is an association of young people on the left and has a current program of protesting the draft, promoting a campaign for youth to develop a conscientious objector status, denouncing United States intervention in the war in Vietnam and to "radically transform" the university community, and provide for its complete control by students. Gus Hall, General Secretary, Communist Party, USA, when interviewed by a representative of United Press International in San Francisco, California, on May 14, 1965, described the SDS as a part of the "responsible left" which the Party has "going for us." At the June, 1965, SDS National Convention, an anti-Communist proviso was removed from the SDS constitution. In the October 7, 1966, issue of "New Left Notes," the official publication of SDS, an SDS spokesman stated that there are some communists in SDS and they are welcome. The national headquarters of this organization as of April 18, 1967, was located in Room 206, 1608 West Madison Street, Chicago, Illinois.

FBI-Withers-1317

SANITATION WORKERS STRIKE,
MEMPHIS, TENNESSEE

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FD-36 (Rev. 12-13-56)

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DATE 02 20 2012

FBI

Date: 3/15/68

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Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plain text or code)

Via: AIRTEL
(Priority or Method of Mailing)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI

FROM: SAC, MEMPHIS (157-1092) (P)

SANITATION WORKERS STRIKE,
MEMPHIS, TENNESSEE
RACIAL MATTERS

(OO: Memphis)

CLASSIFIED & EXTENDED BY SP4
REASON FOR EXTENSION:
FCIM II, 1-2 2 2
DATE OF REVIEW FOR
DECLASSIFICATION 3/15/88
12/9/91

Re Memphis teletype dated 3/14/68.

Enclosed herewith for the Bureau are 11 copies of LHM dated and captioned as above. Copies are being furnished to U. S. Attorney and Secret Service, Memphis, and to Regional Offices of Military Intelligence.

Sources used in enclosed LHM are as follows:

3 - Bureau (Encs.11) (RM)
17 - Memphis
(1 - 157-1092)
(1 - 157-556, Possible Racial Violence, Major Urban Area)
(1 - 100-4105, MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.)
(1 - 157-166, SCLC)
(1 - 157-109, SNCC)
(1 - 100-662, NAACP)
(1 - 100-4140, Investigation of Student Groups on College Campuses)
(1 - 134-452 Sub, [redacted]
(1 - 170-70 Sub, ME 338-R(Ghetto) (X) (U)
(1 - 170-1040, [redacted]
(1 - 157-1070,
(1 - 100-4528,
(1 - 157-957,
(1 - 170-1024,
(1 - 170-98,
(1 - 157-1111 [redacted]
~~(1 - 66-1687-Sub-A, Dissemination)~~

SEARCHED
SERIALIZED
INDEXED
FILED

WHL:gmh
(20)

Approved: R G Jensen
Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____ M Per

170-70 Sub

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DECLASSIFY EXCEPTION EXEMPTION REVIEW
FBI AUTOMATIC DECLASSIFICATION GUIDE
DATE 02 23 2011

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to File No.

Memphis, Tennessee
March 18, 1968

Re: SANITATION WORKERS STRIKE,
MEMPHIS, TENNESSEE
RACIAL MATTERS

On March 17, 1968, Captain Jewell G. Ray, Inspectional Bureau, Memphis, Tennessee, Police Department, advised that the sanitation workers strike which began in Memphis, Tennessee, on February 12, 1968, continues. Strike support is primarily coming from a group of 125 Negro ministers connected with the Memphis Interdenominational Ministerial Alliance which is now calling itself COME (Community on the Move for Equality). On Saturday, March 17, 1968, this group sponsored a series of small intermittent marches in downtown Memphis in support of the strikers. The marchers stayed on the sidewalks and left Clayborn Temple African Methodist Episcopal Church, 280 Hernando, throughout the day. Another small group marched and picketed the Poplar Plaza Shopping Center area of Highland and Poplar Avenue. There were no arrests and no violence.

Captain Ray added that late on March 16, 1968, the Shelby County Tennessee Grand Jury, Memphis, indicted eight strike supporters who were arrested February 23, 1968, by the Memphis Police Department at Main Street and Gayoso. (The details of this arrest were set forth in a communication dated February 24, 1968.) Those indicted were as follows:

Thomas Oliver Jones, President of Local 1733, American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees;

John Kearney, age 30, of 5015 Spottswood;

O. D. Wilson, age 31, of 1229 Marble;

James P. Jordan, age 23, of 1415 Britton;

11 - Bureau; 1 - USA, Memphis; 01-Secret Service, Memphis; 1 - 111thMI,Mfs.
1 - 111th MI, Nashville; 1 - G-2; 1 - NISO, Charleston; 1 - NISO, Memphis;
1 - OSI
8 - Memphis (157-1092)(157-556)(170-98)(100-4105)(157-1664)(157-109)
(100-662)(170-70 Sub)
WHL:gmh
(27)

FBI-Withers-1320

170-70-Sub

SANITATION WORKERS STRIKE,
MEMPHIS, TENNESSEE

Jack Washington, age 54, 730 Bennett Place;

George Jeffriss, age 23, 2552 Supreme;

Eugene Brown, age 56, 1587 Latham;

O. B.Hicks, age 72, of 262 Henry.

All of the above were charged with State charges of Disorderly Conduct. The trial date was not set.

On March 17, 1968, Lieutenant E. H. Arkin, Inspectional Bureau, Memphis Police Department, advised that during the night of March 16, 1968, four Negro youths were arrested by the Memphis Police Department after they threw a Molotov cocktail (a bottle of gasoline with a rag wick lighted by a match) at a small grocery store at Hernando and Pontotoc across the street from Clayborn Temple. They ran into the church after they threw the cocktail. No damage was done. All are being turned over to Memphis Juvenile Court. The four youths are as follows:

Henry C. Bridgeforth, age 16,
2593 Felix Street, Memphis;

Rudy Garner, age 17,
2814 Amsden, Memphis;

William Fisher, age 15,
384 South Fourth Street, Memphis;

Michael Bridgeforth, age 16,
2464 Brooklyn, Memphis.

The "Commercial Appeal," Memphis, Tennessee, daily newspaper, issue of March 17, 1968, reported that Reverend James Morris Lawson, Jr., Pastor of the Centenary Methodist Church, Memphis, announced that Martin Luther King, Jr., will speak at a mass strike support meeting at Mason Temple

FBI-Withers-1321

(Church of God in Christ), 938 Mason Street, Memphis, on Monday, March 18, 1968. No definite time was set for the speech. The story added that King is scheduled to be in Clarksdale, Mississippi, Tuesday, March 19, 1968.

REVEREND JAMES MORRIS LAWSON, JR.

On May 9, 1967, source one advised that on a WHBQ-TV panel discussion on Sunday, April 30, 1967, Reverend James Morris Lawson, Jr., Negro male, pastor of the Centenary Methodist Church, Memphis, and who had been a leader in the April 1967 demonstrations in Memphis opposing United States policy in Vietnam, was asked by Panelist Clark Porteous, "Press-Scimitar" Reporter, if he, Lawson, was a Communist. Lawson replied that he was not a member of the Communist Party, but he felt that the Communist program had many good points and much to offer the United States.

Source two advised that Reverend James Morris Lawson was one of the original founders of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) in 1960 and has since that time been considered as a leader in so-called nonviolent tactics and source recalled that constantly during April, May, June and July, 1967, Lawson regularly participated as a leader in demonstrations in Memphis opposing United States policy in Vietnam.

As recently as February 23, 1968, source two advised that Lawson was preparing to make a trip to Czechoslovakia.

On the same date, source three advised that Lawson had stated on that date that he planned to leave the United States at New York, New York, March 28, 1968, to go to Belgium, Germany and Prague, Czechoslovakia, where he could be a

delegate to a Christian Peace Conference. The date of the Conference is not known but was presumed by source three to be probably in late March or early April, 1968.

On March 8, 1968, source one advised that during the television program, "Press Conference," on Sunday, March 3, 1968, at 12:30 p.m., on WHBQ-TV Channel 13 in Memphis, Tennessee, Reverend James Morris Lawson, Jr., was interviewed by a news panel consisting of Jim Evans, UPI Bureau Chief, Memphis; by Clark Porteous, veteran reporter for the Memphis "Press-Scimitar" newspaper; and by Don Stevens, News Director, WHBQ-TV. In response to a question by Clark Porteous regarding the Memphis sanitation strike which began February 12, 1968, Lawson said he was a leader in support of the strike which is being supported by the Memphis Ministerial Alliance. Porteous asked Lawson if his group planned to bring any "black power" boys into the strike activity. Lawson said the group was bringing in the "black power" boys as the group wanted a "united front."

In response to a question by Stevens and Porteous regarding the importing of outsiders, Lawson replied that he definitely wanted to bring in such people as Martin Luther King, Jr., of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC). When asked about Stokely Carmichael of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) being brought in, Lawson replied that he had known Carmichael for eight years and felt that Carmichael was doing much to unify Negroes all over the eastern seaboard; and that if it was necessary to insure a unified Negro effort in Memphis he, Lawson, would bring Carmichael to Memphis. Lawson blamed the "bad judgment and actions of the Memphis Police Department" for all the trouble thus far in connection with the sanitation workers strike which started February 12, 1968.

FBI Withers 1323

SANITATION WORKERS STRIKE,
MEMPHIS, TENNESSEE

The "Press-Scimitar" issue of March 16, 1968, advised that Memphis Mayor Henry Loeb proposed to submit the question of city-authorized Union dues check-off for sanitation workers to a voters' referendum in the August, 1968, State-County Election, as the question of dues check-off appears to be the main obstruction to settlement of the strike.

The story continued that the Tennessee Council on Human Relations will sponsor two meetings "in an attempt to provide public understanding of the issues involved in the strike." according to Baxton Bryant, Executive Director of the Council. The first meeting is scheduled for Tuesday, March 19, 1968, at 7:30 p.m. at St. Louis Catholic Church, 203 White Station Road, Memphis, where labor representatives and those supporting the strike can explain their position. The second meeting will be held on Wednesday, March 20, 1968, at the same place and give Mayor Loeb a chance to present the city's views.

On March 17, 1968, Lieutenant E. H. Arkin Inspectional Bureau, Memphis Police Department, advised that at about 2:16 a.m., March 16, 1968, a firebomb consisting of a quart beer bottle full of kerosine and ignited rag was thrown against the outside of the home of Leonard Ward, a male Negro, age 55, who is a supervisor in the Sanitation Department and who is continuing to work during the strike. Limited damage was done to the outside of Ward's house located at 977 Driver Street. The identity of the perpetrator or perpetrators is unknown.

No strike activity was scheduled for March 17, 1968, according to Lieutenant Arkin. He said, however, that at a strike support rally sponsored by COME at St. Stephens CME Church, 600 North Fourth Street, Reverend Harold Middlebrook told the youngsters to attend school Monday, March 18, 1968, and to report to Clayborn Temple at 4:30 p.m. for a downtown

FBI-Withers-1324

march. He said an adult march would be held at 3 p.m. Lieutenant Arkin said that Memphis Juvenile Court Judge Kenneth Turner has instructed the Memphis Police Department to pick up all school-age children participating in demonstrations and marches during school hours as the COME has recently been urging school children to stay out of school to support the strike. Turner has said he will start fining parents $10 a day when their children are truant.

Lieutenant Arkin said it was announced at the meeting that Martin Luther King, Jr., would speak at a strike support rally sponsored by COME on Monday night, March 18, 1968, at Mason Temple, at 7:30 p.m. The Temple holds about 9,000 people.

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UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to File No.

Memphis, Tennessee
March 18, 1968

Title: SANITATION WORKERS STRIKE, MEMPHIS, TENNESSEE

Character: RACIAL MATTERS

Reference: Memorandum dated and captioned as above prepared at Memphis, Tennessee.

All sources (except any listed below) whose identities are concealed in referenced communication have furnished reliable information in the past.

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

FD-36 (Rev. 12-13-56)

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FBI AUTOMATIC DECLASSIFICATION GUIDE
DATE 02 23 2012

FBI

Date: 3/18/68

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Transmit the following in _____
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Via AIRTEL _____
(Priority or Method of Mailing)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI

FROM: SAC, MEMPHIS (157-1092) (P)

SANITATION WORKERS STRIKE,
MEMPHIS, TENNESSEE
RACIAL MATTERS

(OO Memphis)

Re Memphis letterhead memorandum dated 3/16/68 and airtel, same date.

Enclosed herewith for the Bureau are 11 copies of LHM entitled as above and dated 3/18/68.

Copies are being disseminated to Regional Offices of Military Intelligence; U. S. Secret Service, Memphis; and U. S. Attorney, Memphis, Tenn.

Sources used in enclosed LHM are as follows:

3 - Bureau (Enc.11) (RM)
9 - Memphis
(1 - 157-1092)
(1 - 157-556, Possible Racial Violence, Major Urban Areas)
(170-98, [redacted])
(1- 100-4105, Dr. MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.)
(1 - 157-166, SCLC)
(1 - 157-109, SNCC)
(1 - 100-662, NAACP)
(1 - 170-70 Sub, ME 338-R) (U)
(1 - 66-1687 Sub, Dissemination File)

WHL:gmh
(12)

SEARCHED _____
SERIALIZED _____
INDEXED _____
FILED _____

CLASSIFIED & EXTENDED BY SP4 _____
CLASSIFY FOR EXPLOSION, 12/9/81
EXEMPTION CATEGORY 4.2 2
DATE OF REVIEW FOR DECLASSIFICATION 3/18/88

FBI Withers 1327

170-70-Sub

Approved: _____ Sent _____ M Per _____
Special Agent in Charge

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Source one is [redacted]

Source two is [redacted] (U)

Source three is [redacted]

Memphis will continue to follow and report pertinent strike activities.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

DECLASSIFIED BY AUTHORITY OF THE
FBI AUTOMATIC DECLASSIFICATION GUIDE
DATE 02 23 2012

SAC (157-MEW) 3/19/68

SA WILLIAM H. LAWRENCE

MILTON MACK
RM

On 3/12/68 [redacted] furnished to SA WILLIAM H. LAWRENCE photographs of a male Negro taken in one of the sympathy strike marches for sanitation workers, Memphis, Tenn. (which strike started 2/12/68). This photo shows this male Negro with an Afro hair-do, sunglasses, wearing an athletic jacket and carrying a sandwich type sign. The front of the sign reads:

"Black Power Mean Higher Wages Or?"

The reverse side reads"

"Give Us Higher Wages and Better Jobs or Give Me Death" and "Jobs or Death - Burn Baby Burn" -"We Will Fight"

[redacted] tried to converse with this individual who was most militant in his comments. All he would say was that he was the track coach at LeMoyne College. [redacted] will try to verify this.

On 3/14/68 [redacted] volunteered to SAs HOWELL S. LOWE and WILLIAM H. LAWRENCE that this person is MILTON MACK, a LeMoyne College student, who is allegedly on the track team. MACK, around November and early December, 1967, came to the Owen College campus to participate in some of the black power meetings led by CHARLES L. CABBAGE and JOHN B. SMITH. [redacted] said he knew nothing else about MACK.

2 - 157-MEW [redacted]
2 - 157-109 (SNCC)
1 - 170-70 Sub (NK 338-R-Ghetto)
1 - 170-1069 [redacted]
1 - 157-1092 (Sanitation Workers Strike, Memphis, Tenn.)
1 - 66-1687 Sub A, (Dissemination File)
WHL:gmh
(8)

170-70-Sub [redacted]

Lawrence

The 1968 City Directory lists MILTON MACK, wife CORA MACK, occupation student; residence 1603 South Cooper, Memphis, Tennessee.

On 3/15/68 this information, along with a photograph, was furnished to Lt. K. H. ARKIN, Inspectional Bureau, Memphis Police Department.

RECOMMENDATION:

Open and assign 157-NEW re [redacted]

FBI-Withers-1330

DECLASSIFICATION AUTHORITY DERIVED FROM
SEC. STOMPER'S DECLASSIFICATION GUIDE
DATE 06-23-2006

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Memphis, Tennessee
March 19, 1968

CONFIDENTIAL

In Reply, Please Refer to File No.

RE: SANITATION WORKERS STRIKE,
MEMPHIS, TENNESSEE
RACIAL MATTERS

Reference is made to communication dated March 18, 1968, made at Memphis, Tennessee.

On the afternoon of March 18, 1968, Capt. Jewell G. Ray, Inspectional Bureau, Memphis, Tennessee, Police Department, advised that there was little strike support activity during the day of March 18, 1968, and that some of the strikers and some of their adult supporters sponsored by a group of Negro Memphis ministers connected with the Memphis Interdenominational Ministerial Alliance and who have adopted the name of Community on the Move for Equality (COME) held a downtown march peacefully on the sidewalks, single file, around 3:00 p.m. March 18, 1968, He advised that at about 4:30 p.m. a small group of teenagers marched the same route without incident.

Capt. Ray stated that the big excitement in Memphis on March 18, 1968, was the scheduled appearance of Martin Luther King Jr. of Atlanta, Georgia, President of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, who had been scheduled to address a strike support rally sponsored by COME at Mason Temple, Mason Avenue, Memphis, this being a Church of God in Christ institution. He stated that outside of the Mid-South Coliseum, it is the largest indoor arena in Memphis and can seat some 10,000 people.

On the late night of March 18, 1968, Capt. Ray advised that King had appeared, arriving late, after 9:00 p.m., and he was accompanied on the platform by Rev. Ralph D. Abernathy, who is reported to be Vice-President at Large of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC).

FBI-Withers-1069

11 - Bureau
1 - USA, Memphis
1 - Secret Service, Memphis
1 - G-2
1 - OSI
1 - NISO, Charleston
1 - NISO, Memphis
1 - 111th MI, Memphis
1 - 111th MI, Nashville
9 - Memphis (1 - 157-1092; 1 - 157-556; 1 - 170-98; 1 - 157-
1 - 157-109; 1 - 157-166; 1 - 100-4105;
1 - 100-4492; 1 - 170-70-Sub)

WHL:LF
(23)

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REASON FOR EXTENSION: FOIM, 1, 1-5, 6, 2 2
DATE OF REVIEW FOR DECLASSIFICATION 3/19/88

12/9/81

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170-70-Sub

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In the group accompanying King to Memphis were Andrew J. Young, Executive Director of SCLC, and James Bevel, a member of the executive staff of SCLC.

Rev. James Morris Lawson Jr., Pastor, Centenary Methodist Church, Memphis, according to Ray, is understood to also be on the executive staff of SCLC and was the person purportedly responsible for bringing King and his group to Memphis to stimulate support of the sanitation strike.

Ray stated that he had been reliably informed that at the meeting on the night of March 18, 1968, King made an impassioned speech to an estimated crowd of 9,000 to 12,000 people, predominantly Negroes, who showed up to hear him. King called for an escalation of the strike and for support thereof. King made a series of demagogic appeals to the baser emotions of the predominantly Negro audience and pointed out they had to acquire more economic goods now possessed by the white man and that they had to obtain power. He kept emphasizing power without becoming specific as to how they could obtain power. Ray stated that the audience was emotionally moved by King's speech, and King concluded by calling for a unified effort on the part of all Negroes in Memphis, some 250,000, to oppose the Memphis city administration headed by Mayor Henry Loeb who heretofore has refused to accept a union dues checkoff which is the big bottleneck in the settlement of the sanitation strike, which has been in progress since February 12, 1968. King called on all Negroes in Memphis to utilize Friday, March 22, 1968, as a protest day in which all Negroes would refuse to show up for work and all Negro students would refuse to go to school and that all Negroes would thereby be urged to come into downtown Memphis for what King described as a massive downtown march.

King indicated that he would be in Mississippi for the next several days stimulating support for his forthcoming April 22, 1968, "Poor People's Camp-In" in Washington, D. C., and would probably return to Memphis in time to participate in the scheduled massive march on March 22, 1968.

Ray stated that Ralph D. Abernathy made a talk in which he urged strike supporters and strike sympathizers to physically place their bodies in front of the some 60-odd Memphis Sanitation Department pick-up trucks which are currently collecting garbage in Memphis during the strike, even

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if this provoked arrest.

On March 19, 1968, Lt. E. H. Arkin, Inspectional Bureau, Memphis Police Department, and Inspector G. P. Tines, Inspectional Bureau, Memphis Police Department, advised that there had been no known arrests on the part of people throwing themselves in front of sanitation trucks, and there was considerable activity scheduled for March 19, 1968, namely, a mass march on the part of strikers and strike sympathizers to the Memphis City Hall to attend the weekly meeting of the Memphis City Council which begins at 2:30 p.m.

Lt. Arkin stated that the strikers who have daily meetings at the Firestone union hall plan to arrive early in order to obtain some of the 407 spectator seats in the City Council chambers, and another group of sympathizers will march from Clayborn AME Temple, 280 Hernando, to the City Hall single file on the sidewalks.

Lt. Arkin stated that King and his group stayed at the Lorraine Motel, 406 Mulberry Street, a predominantly Negro motel, during the night of March 18, 1968, and shortly before noon, King left, ostensibly to go to the state of Mississippi in connection with his "Poor People's Camp-in." Arkin stated that Ralph D. Abernathy remained in Memphis and was conferring with some of the ministerial leaders who are supporting the strike, namely, James Morris Lawson Jr., Dr. H. Ralph Jackson, and others.

MARTIN LUTHER KING JR.

A Communist party functionary described Martin Luther King Jr. as a confirmed Marxist in February 1962. (Memphis Confidential Source 1) (U)

JAMES BEVEL

Bevel, in early March 1966, was observed to be present at the offices of the West Side W. E. B. DuBois Club in Chicago (DCA). Discussion took place at this time centering around reaction to a recent notification that the Attorney General of the United States intended to label the DuBois Clubs as a Communist front. Bevel, in conversation, stated that he would have ignored this notification and kept about

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the work in which he was engaged. He felt that if the DuBois Clubs have a real program of help for the people, then the people would answer for the clubs despite any labels applied to them.

Most present agreed that the attack on the DuBois Clubs was a part of the plan by the "establishment" to undermine the civil rights movement. They felt that the recent hearings into Klan activities in this country were only a beginning which would lead to a full scale attack on the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC), the real target. One of those present stated during the course of this discussion that he was not a Communist, and to this Bevel was overheard to reply that every thinking American should be. He stated that Negroes have not begun to read yet, but when they do, they will all be socialists.
(Memphis Confidential Source 2)

(A characterization of the DCA is attached to the appendix section of this communication.)

On the late afternoon of March 18, 1968, a third source advised that Rev. James Morris Lawson Jr. had just stated that he has requested Father James Groppi, the controversial Catholic priest from Milwaukee, Wisconsin, to come to Memphis over the weekend of March 23, 1968, to lead a protest rally supporting the strike.

Source three recalled that Groppi is the one who has led militant marches in Milwaukee, Wisconsin, for the greater part of the last year, aimed at ending closed housing operations in Milwaukee and is the one who led a group of militant Negro youths into the office of the Mayor of Milwaukee about seven or eight months ago when the group with Groppi defaced furniture and equipment in the Mayor's office doing several thousand dollars' worth of damage. Source three pointed out that Groppi is a demagogue who has an ability to inflame audiences, particularly young audiences.

Source three stated that Lawson was not certain that Groppi would come but was hoping he would accede to Lawson's request.

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SANITATION WORKERS STRIKE,
MEMPHIS, TENNESSEE

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REV. JAMES MORRIS LAWSON JR.

On May 9, 1967, source four advised that on a WHBQ-TV panel discussion on Sunday, April 30, 1967, Rev. James Morris Lawson Jr., Negro male, pastor of the Centenary Methodist Church, Memphis, and who had been a leader in the April 1967 demonstrations in Memphis opposing United States policy in Vietnam, was asked by Panelist Clark Porteous, "Press-Scimitar" reporter, if he, Lawson, was a Communist. Lawson replied that he was not a member of the Communist Party, but he felt that the Communist program had many good points and much to offer the United States.

Source three advised that Rev. James Morris Lawson was one of the original founders of the Student Non-violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) in 1960 and has since that time been considered as a leader in so-called nonviolent tactics and source recalled that constantly during April, May, June and July 1967, Lawson regularly participated as a leader in demonstrations in Memphis opposing United States policy in Vietnam.

As recently as February 23, 1968, source three advised that Lawson was preparing to make a trip to Czechoslovakia.

On the same date, source five advised that Lawson had stated on that date that he planned to leave the United States at New York, New York, March 28, 1968, to go to Belgium, Germany and Prague, Czechoslovakia, where he could be a delegate to a Christian Peace Conference. The date of the Conference is not known but was presumed by source to be probably in late March or early April 1968.

On March 8, 1968, source four advised that during the television program, "Press Conference," on Sunday, March 3, 1968, at 12:30 p.m., on WHBQ-TV Channel 13 in Memphis, Tennessee, Rev. James Morris Lawson Jr. was

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interviewed by a news panel consisting of Jim Evans, UPI Bureau Chief, Memphis, by Clark Porteous, veteran reporter for the Memphis "Press-Scimitar" newspaper; and by Don Stevens, News Director, WHBQ-TV. In response to a question by Clark Porteous regarding the Memphis sanitation strike which began February 12, 1968, Lawson said he was a leader in support of the strike which is being supported by the Memphis Ministerial Alliance. Porteous asked Lawson if his group planned to bring any "black power" boys into the strike activity. Lawson said the group was bringing in the "black power" boys as the group wanted a "united front."

In response to a question by Stevens and Porteous regarding the importing of outsiders, Lawson replied that he definitely wanted to bring in such people as Martin Luther King Jr., of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC). When asked about Stokely Carmichael of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) being brought in, Lawson replied that he had known Carmichael for eight years and felt that Carmichael was doing much to unify Negroes all over the eastern seaboard; and that if it was necessary to insure a unified Negro effort in Memphis he, Lawson, would bring Carmichael to Memphis. Lawson blamed the "bad judgment and actions of the Memphis Police Department" for all the trouble thus far in connection with the sanitation workers strike which started February 12, 1968.

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SANITATION WORKERS STRIKE
MEMPHIS, TENNESSEE

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On March 19, 1968, source six , advised that on the late evening of March 18, 1968, in a confidential conversation with Rev. Ezekiel Bell, Negro male, Pastor, Parkway Gardens Presbyterian Church, Bell confided that on March 19, 1968, he will insist that the ministers making up the governing body of COME invite former national chairman of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) Stokely Carmichael to come to Memphis within the next ten days to lead a strike rally and if these ministers veto his recommendation, he and his church individually will bring Carmichael to Memphis within the next ten days. Bell further emphasized that he wants to bring a barrage of outside figures to Memphis in order to create the utmost turmoil and to bring the city of Memphis to "its feet."

Source six recalled that Bell has been one of the most vocal and vituperative and demagogic strike support leaders and that within the past month in the City Council chambers he urged others to forcibly tear down the city seal and at another City Council meeting held about two weeks ago he made the statement in public that if he thought the city of Memphis was worth burning he would burn it himself.

On March 19, 1968, source six stated that Jesse Epps, Field Director of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees, which is attempting to organize the sanitation workers, plans to saturate the Negro community with handbills urging that all Negroes leave school and their jobs March 22, 1968, for a massive downtown protest march; that Rev. Ezekiel Bell stated that the march would start at 9:00 a.m.; and that the COME is asking for 400 to 500 volunteers to appear around 6:30 a.m. March 22, 1968, at the Sanitation Department storage area at Democrat Road and Airways Boulevard to physically prevent sanitation trucks from starting their daily rounds with the realization that there will be several hundred mass arrests of these demonstrators by the Memphis Police Department.

On March 19, 1968, Lt. Arkin advised that a reliable source of the Memphis Police Department stated that at a recent strike support meeting Rev. Bell, in front of several hundred strike sympathizers stated that he had quit smoking three years ago but had resumed smoking recently in order that he would have an excuse to carry matches. Bell did not elaborate but the police source assumed that he was indicating people might burn

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as a protest; in other words, set sporadic fires as a harassment in the form of vandalism in the city of Memphis.

Lt. Arkin stated that his department had learned that Ezekiel Bell, who was born August 9, 1935, of parents Dan and Evelyn Bell, as of 1950 resided at 1632 Brookins, Memphis, Tennessee, and had attended the Douglas School from the third grade until his graduation there on June 5, 1953. He was first in a class of 42 students, was President of the Student Council, and President of the Senior Class.

The above information as received from Memphis sources was furnished to Lieutenant E. H. Arkin and Mr. William Bray, 111th Military Intelligence Group, Memphis, Tennessee.

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1 APPENDIX

W. E. B. DU BOIS CLUBS OF AMERICA (DCA)

A source advised that on October 26-27, 1963, a conference of members of the Communist Party, USA (CPUSA), including national functionaries, met in Chicago, Illinois, for the purpose of setting in motion forces for the establishment of a new national Marxist-oriented youth organization which would hunt for the most peaceful transition to socialism. The delegates were told that it would be reasonable to assume that the young socilists attracted into this new organization would eventually pass into the CP itself.

A second source has advised that the founding convention for the new youth organization was held from June 19-21, 1964, at 150 Golden Gate Avenue, San Francisco, California, at which time the name W. E. B. DuBois Clubs of America (DCA) was adopted. Approximately 500 delegates from throughout the United States attended this convention.

The second source advised in September, 1966, that Mike Zagaroll, CPUSA Youth Director, stated that in Negro communities the Party still supported the plan to build "left" socialist centers and to solidify the Party base through the DCA. This source also advised in September, 1966, that Daniel Rubin, CPUSA National Organizational Secretary, stated the Party believes the DCA should have a working-class outlook and be a mass organization favorable to socialism, socialist countries and Marxism, and in April, 1967, advised that Gus Hall, CPUSA General Secretary, indicated the DCA primary emphasis should be on developing mass resistance to the draft.

A third source advised in September, 1967, that Jarvis Tyner was elected chairman of the DCA on September 10, 1967, at the Third National Convention of the DCA held in New York, New York, from September 8-10, 1967.

A fourth source advised during August, 1967, that Jarvis Tyner is a member of the National Committee of the CPUSA.

A fifth source advised on September 21, 1967, that the headquarters of the DCA is located at 34 West 17th Street, New York, New York.

APPENDIX

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SANITATION WORKERS STRIKE,
MEMPHIS, TENNESSEE

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UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to File No.

Memphis, Tennessee
March 19, 1968

Title: SANITATION WORKERS STRIKE, MEMPHIS, TENNESSEE

Character: RACIAL MATTERS

Reference: Memorandum dated and captioned as above prepared at Memphis, Tennessee.

All sources (except any listed below) whose identities are concealed in referenced communication have furnished reliable information in the past.

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

FD-36 (Rev. 12-13-56)

DECLASSIFICATION AUTHORITY DERIVED FROM:
FBI AUTOMATIC DECLASSIFICATION GUIDE
DATE 03-08-2011

FBI

Date: 3/19/68

CONFIDENTIAL

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plain text or code)

Via AIRTEL _____
(Priority or Method of Mailing)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI

FROM: SAC, MEMPHIS (157-1092) (P)

SANITATION WORKERS STRIKE
MEMPHIS, TENNESSEE
RACIAL MATTERS

Re Memphis airtel and LHM 3/18/68.

Enclosed for the Bureau are 11 copies and for Atlanta 2 copies of LHM captioned and dated as above.

Copies are being disseminated to the U. S. Attorney and U. S. Secret Service, Memphis, and to Regional Offices of Military Intelligence.

Sources used in enclosed LHM are as follows:

Source one [redacted] (U)

3 - Bureau (Encs.11) (RM)
2 - Atlanta (Encs.2)(RM) (Info)
(1 - 100-5718)
(1 - 100-MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.)
10 - Memphis
(1 - 157-1092)
(1 - 157-556, Possible Racial Violence, Major Urban Areas)
(1 - 170-98, [redacted]
(1 - 157-NEW [redacted]
(1 - 157-109, SNCC)
(1 - 157-166, SCLC)
(1 - 100-4105, MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.)
(1 - 100-4492, [redacted] (U)
(1 - 170-70 Sub, [redacted])
(1 - 66-1687 Sub A, Dissemination)
WHL:gmh
(15)

CLASSIFIED & EXTENDED BY SP4
REASON FOR EXTENSION: FCIM, II, 1-2, 2
DATE OF REVIEW FOR DECLASSIFICATION 3/19/88
All paragraphs are unclassified unless marked to the contrary.

FBI-Withers-1080

Approved: R G Jensen
Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____ M Per 170-70-Sub [redacted]

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Source two is [redacted] (U) (Characterization of JAMES BEVEL)

[redacted] (U)

Source three is ME 338-R(Ghetto) (ME 170-70 Sub)

Source four is [redacted]

Source five is [redacted]

Source six is [redacted]

LEAD:

MEMPHIS DIVISION

Will continue to follow and advise Bureau of pertinent developments.

FBI-Withers-1081

CONFIDENTIAL

DECLASSIFICATION AUTHORITY DERIVED FROM:
FBI AUTOMATIC DECLASSIFICATION GUIDE
DATE 06-23-2012

SAC, MEMPHIS (157-New) 3/20/68

SA WILLIAM H. LAWRENCE

DON NEELY
RM

On 3/7/68, [redacted] orally advised SA WILLIAM H. LAWRENCE as follows:

Source learned that recently CHARLES L. CABBAGE, self admitted leader of BOP (Black Organizing Power) -SNCC connected black power group in Memphis, has developed a close follower and sympathizer in one DON NEELY of 531 E. McLemore, a male Negro. NEELY frequents Beale Street, is an Owen College dropout, and has recently been making statements to the effect that Negroes should not fight in the U. S. Army in Vietnam. NEELY was allegedly recently rejected for Army service at the induction center for unknown reasons. He has a brother, RICHARD NEELY, a good man, who works in the color lab of K-B Photo Service and who [redacted] is worried about DON running around with CABBAGE. RICHARD further said that DON wants to start trouble in connection with the current sanitation workers' strike in Memphis. He is trying to get some of the more militant preachers in the COME (Community on the Move for Equality) group supporting the strike, such as Rev. MALCOM DOUGLAS BLACKBURN, to give money to BOP in order to start some unspecified trouble.

DON NEELY was allegedly arrested some time back for being an alleged "look out" for a female in connection with a shoplifting case. He purportedly drove the car in the case. The police were allegedly unable to make a case on him.

2 - 157-[redacted]
2 - 157-109 (SNCC)
1 - 100-4528 (CHARLES L. CABBAGE)
1 - 170-70-SUB (MK 338-R (ghetto)
1 - 157-1092 (Sanitation Workers' Strike, Memphis, Tenn.)
1 -134-477 (Black Nationalist Informant Program)
1 - 170-117 [redacted]
1 - 157-556 (Possible Racial Violence, Major Urban areas)
WHL:cjs
(10)

170-70-Sub

SEARCHED
SERIALIZED
MAR 20 1968
FBI — MEMPHIS

ME 157-NEW

On 3/12/68, [redacted] advised SA WILLIAM H. LAWRENCE as follows:

On the night of 3/11/68, DON NEELY, the new supporter and follower of CHARLES L. CABBAGE, SNCC leader in Memphis, was on Beale Street in Memphis with another male Negro with a "natural" Afro hair style and granny glasses in a Pontiac automobile bearing 1967 Tennessee license, Shelby County, JR1650. (The unknown Negro male is the same one in the photo taken at Memphis State University 3/1 or 3/5/68 of the sanitation workers' support demonstrators, wherein he is standing beside SUSAN MAC DONALD).

On 3/18/68, [redacted] protect identity), furnished to writer the following information [redacted]

Name	DON NEELY
Residence	531 E. McLemore, Memphis, Tennessee, telephone 948-7090 zip code 38106
Born	11/27/47, Memphis, Tennessee
Marital status	Single
Religion	Baptist - member Progressive Baptist Church
High School	Booker T. Washington High School, Memphis, graduated in 1966
Life ambition	To be social worker
Colleges of choice	Tennessee A & I State University and Texas Southern
Person responsible for expenses	LOUELLA NEELY, housewife, 531 McLemore (East) and RICHARD NEELY, photographer, 531 E. McLemore, Memphis, Tenn.
Financial Reference	BENNIE TATE, 2313 Tunica Street, Memphis, Tennessee, head waiter
Prior work	Extra waiter and service station attendant

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ME 157-NEW

Person recommending him to Owen	JOE BEAN, 741 Hernando Street, Memphis, Tennessee
Reason wanting to attend Owen	"My parents recommended that I go to a college with a religious background."
Personal references:	BENNIE TATE, 2313 Tunica, head waiter; CLEO WATTS, 1160 E. McLemore, hat maker; JOE L. HOLT, 1892 Farrington, bell hop

He enrolled at Owen in September, 1966, and dropped out in 1967.

He registered for Selective Service at LB 84, and has Selective Service No. [redacted]

A transcript from Booker T. Washington High School shows he previously lived at 316 Linden and 1130 Walker.

Father ANDREW NEELY.

FBI-Withers-1084

DECLASSIFICATION AUTHORITY DERIVED FROM
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DATE 07-23-2012

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to File No.

Memphis, Tennessee
March 20, 1968

Re: SANITATION WORKERS STRIKE,
MEMPHIS, TENNESSEE
RACIAL MATTERS

On March 20, 1968, Lieutenant E. H. Arkin, Inspectional Bureau, Memphis, Tennessee, Police Department, advised that two small marches in support of the sanitation workers strike which has existed in Memphis since February 12, 1968, took place in Memphis with the marchers marching from Clayborn Temple located at 280 Hernando to the vicinity of the Memphis City Hall. The marchers marched single file on the sidewalks. He stated that the first march began around 3 p.m. and consisted of some 75 to 100 people, primarily Negro adults, and that the second march occurred around 5 p.m., consisting of some 70 youngsters, mostly of a school age. The youngsters held a small prayer meeting on the plaza in front of the City Hall. There were no arrests and no incidents.

Lieutenant Arkin continued that two of the biggest troublemakers thus far in connection with the strike support activities, namely, Willie James Jenkins, age 18, male Negro, of 86 West McLemore, and John Henry Ferguson, age 20, male Negro, of 1279 Pennsylvania Avenue, appeared in Memphis City Court about a week ago and were fined $10 each on Disorderly Conduct charges and were bound to the State of Tennessee on State Disorderly Conduct charges and that on March 19, 1968, the Shelby County Grand Jury indicted Ferguson and Jenkins under a 110-year-old State law, apparently used only once before in history, charging Jenkins and Ferguson with "Unlawfully Disturbing and Disquieting a School Assemblage" at Carver High School on March 11, 1968, when they attempted to induce all of the students in the cafeteria to walk out in support of the strike. They refused to leave the cafeteria when asked to do so by school officials and the police were called. When the police attempted to remove them, they laid on the floor and refused to move.

11 - Bureau; 2-Atlanta; 2 - USA, Memphis; 1 - Secret Service, Memphis; 1 - G-3; 1 - 111th MI, Memphis; 1 - 111th MI, Nashville; 1 - MISO, Mfs.; 1 - MISO, Charleston; 1 - CSI, Maxwell AFB, Ala.
(5) - Bureau (157-1062)(100-4105)(157-550)(170-70 Sub)(100-4528)(157-057)(157-1000)(157-1018)(

WHL:gah
(20)

FBI-Witners-1085

Declassified on 12/9/81 by SPG.

170-70-Sub

SANITATION WORKERS STRIKE,
MEMPHIS, TENNESSEE
RACIAL MATTERS

Lieutenant Arkin stated that L. A. Rhodes, Assistant Attorney General of Shelby County, Tennessee, stated the act under which the men were indicted was passed in 1858.

Lieutenant Arkin stated that during the night of March 19, 1968, a series of small incidents, in all probability related to the strike, occurred and that there were scattered instances of trash fires and false fire alarms. He stated that John Hart, male Negro, age 58, of 2911 Yale, a sanitation worker, told the police that two bricks were thrown at his house at about 9:30 p.m., March 19, 1968. One of the bricks hit his roof and the other smashed the windshield of his automobile. Lieutenant Arkin added that a number of bottles were broken on the street at Jackson and Hastings, forcing police to call out a sanitation crew to clean up the debris under a protective escort.

Lieutenant Arkin also advised that one Richard Givens of 629 Hastings reported to the police that three windows were broken in his home on Monday night, March 18, 1968, after he set his garbage at the curb for pickup subsequently during the day. Lieutenant Arkin also pointed out it was learned that a hole had been shot through the window of a Loeb's Laundry, 1143 Walker Avenue, and that rocks broke a window at Loeb's Barbecue, 562 South Parkway East. He stated that one of the prime targets of the Negro supporters of the strike has been Loeb's business establishments owned by William Loeb, brother of Memphis Mayor Henry Loeb.

Lieutenant Arkin further reported that the Memphis City Council met Tuesday afternoon, March 19, 1968, and that approximately 250 Negro strike supporters attended this council meeting, hoping that Negro Councilman J. O. Patterson, Jr., would bring up a resolution urging the City Council to vote favorably recommending that Mayor Henry Loeb grant the dues check-off for the sanitation workers which appears to be the main obstacle preventing the solution of the strike.

FBI-Withers-1086

SANITATION WORKERS STRIKE,
MEMPHIS, TENNESSEE

Lieutenant Arkin stated that he had learned that a lot of conversation took place during City Council recesses and that finally about 8 p.m., March 19, 1968, the City Council recessed until 4:30 p.m., Thursday, March 21, 1968, at which time the Patterson resolution will be discussed.

The "Commercial Appeal" newspaper, issue of March 20, 1968, reported that Mr. Patterson told the paper that the Council is still divided on the issue of dues check-off which with pay increases and a written contract are the major remaining issues in the strike. The paper reported that he, Patterson, had talked with Jerry Wurf, President of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees, and that Wurf told Patterson that if the resolution offered by Patterson was passed that it would settle the strike.

Lieutenant Arkin pointed out that this meeting will be on the eve of the scheduled mass downtown Memphis march urged originally by Martin Luther King, Jr., President of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC), on Monday night, March 18, 1968, when he spoke before a mass rally supporting the strike at Mason Temple in Memphis.

On March 20, 1968, both Lieutenant Arkin and source one, respectively and independently, advised that a strike rally meeting was held in Warren Temple, located at the intersection of Mississippi Boulevard and Williams Street, on the night of March 19, 1968, the featured speaker being James Bevel, who is an executive staff member of the SCLC, specializing in "nonviolent action." Bevel, who is a large man and now wears a full beard and is a male Negro, urged all present to give their undivided support to King's call for a mass march on Friday, March 22, 1968, to begin at 9 a.m. at Clayborn Temple and urged that all Negroes in Memphis refuse to go to work on Friday, March 22, 1968, and that all students refuse to go to school on that day and that all come to downtown Memphis to participate in the march. Bevel also reported that if the strike

FBI Withers 1087

is not settled by March 22, 1968, that all school children should remain at home during the week beginning March 25, 1968.

It was further reported at the meeting, according to Lieutenant Arkin and source one, that on March 20, 1968, the strikers will hold a noon meeting at the Firestone Union Hall and that at 2 p.m., the adults will march, and at 4:30 p.m. the students will march, all in downtown Memphis.

It was further reported that leaflets will be passed out at all high schools in Memphis, March 20, 1968, by supporters of the strike urging that children remain home from school on March 22, 1968.

Source one reported that Bevel stated that he is separated from his wife, Diane Nash Bevel, and Bevel indicated that he had recently spent considerable time in Washington, D. C., in connection with the proposed "Poor Peoples' March," whereby impoverished Negroes from all sections of the country, particularly the South, will begin a "camp-in" in Washington, D. C., beginning April 22, 1968. Bevel stated that Martin Luther King, Jr., and some of his staff are spending March 19, 20, and 21, in the State of Mississippi organizing volunteers to participate in this "camp-in" and also soliciting financial support therefor. King and his group are expected to return to Memphis late on the night of March 21, 1968, in preparation for the mass March 22, 1968, downtown Memphis march. Source one stated that King had 12 members of his staff with him in Memphis on the night of March 18, including one unidentified female.

Also on March 20, 1968, source one added that two self-admitted members of the young militant Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) black power movement of Memphis, using the name of Black Organizing Power (BOP), namely Clinton Roy Jamerson of 1397 Davis, a student at LeMoyne College, and James Elmore Phillips, of 1592 Short, a student at LeMoyne College, commented that James Bevel would speak at an assembly at LeMoyne College at 11:30 a.m., March 20, 1968.

FBI-Withers-1088

SANITATION WORKERS STRIKE
MEMPHIS, TENNESSEE

On March 20, 1968, Lieutenant Arkin added that Charles Laverne Cabbage and John Burrell Smith, the admitted leaders of the BOP group in Memphis, were present at the meeting at Warren Temple and were heard by a reliable source of the Police Department to say that they would have their "own little thing going" on Friday, March 22, 1968. They did not elaborate as to what they planned.

CHARLES LAVERNE CABBAGE
JOHN BURRELL SMITH
CLINTON ROY JAMERSON
JAMES ELMORE PHILLIPS

On February 16, 1968, in connection with another FBI investigation, James Elmore Phillips, Clinton Roy Jamerson, Charles Laverne Cabbage and John Burrell Smith advised representatives of the FBI that they are members of the governing body of the Black Organizing Power (BOP) which Cabbage described as a militant young Negro black power movement in Memphis which has connections with the SNCC.

JAMES BEVEL

Bevel, in early March 1966, was observed to be present at the offices of the West Side W. E. B. DuBois Clubs in Chicago (DCA). Discussion took place at this time centering around reaction to a recent notification that the Attorney General of the United States intended to label the DuBois Clubs as a Communist front. Bevel in conversation stated that he would have ignored this notification and kept about the work in which he was engaged. He felt that if the DuBois Clubs have a real program of help for the people, then the people would answer for the Clubs despite any labels applied to them.

FBI-Witners-1089

Most present agreed that the attack on the DuBois Clubs was a part of the plan by the "establishment" to undermine the civil rights movement. They felt that the recent hearings into Klan activities in this country were only a beginning which would lead to a full-scale attack on the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC), the real target. One of those present stated during the course of this discussion that he was not a Communist, and to this Bevel was overheard to reply that every thinking American should be. He stated that Negroes have not begun to read yet, but when they do, they will all be socialists.

(Source Two)

(A characterization of the W. E. B. DuBois Clubs of American is set forth in the Appendix Section.)

The information furnished by source one was orally furnished to Lieutenant E. H. Arkin of the Memphis Police Department on March 20, 1968, and the information from Lieutenant Arkin and source one was furnished to Mr. William Bray of the 111th Military Intelligence Corps, Third Army, Memphis, Tennessee, on March 20, 1968.

FBI-Withers-1090

W. E. B. DU BOIS CLUBS OF AMERICA (DCA)

A source advised that on October 26-27, 1963, a conference of members of the Communist Party, USA (CPUSA), including national functionaries, met in Chicago, Illinois, for the purpose of setting in motion forces for the establishment of a new national Marxist-oriented youth organization which would hunt for the most peaceful transition to socialism. The delegates were told that it would be reasonable to assume that the young socilists attracted into this new organization would eventually pass into the CP itself.

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A fourth source advised during August, 1967, that Jarvis Tyner is a member of the National Committee of the CPUSA.

A fifth source advised on September 21, 1967, that the headquarters of the DCA is located at 34 West 17th Street, New York, New York.

SANITATION WORKERS STRIKE,
MEMPHIS, TENNESSEE

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UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to File No.

Memphis, Tennessee
March 20, 1968

Title: SANITATION WORKERS STRIKE
MEMPHIS, TENNESSEE

Character: RACIAL MATTERS

Reference: Memorandum dated and captioned as above prepared at Memphis, Tennessee.

All sources (except any listed below) whose identities are concealed in referenced communication have furnished reliable information in the past.

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FBI AUTOMATIC DECLASSIFICATION GUIDE
DATE 07-23-2012

FBI

Date: 3/20/68

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plain text or code)

Via AIRTEL
(Priority or Method of Mailing)

CONFIDENTIAL

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI

FROM: SAC, MEMPHIS (157-1092) (P)

SANITATION WORKERS STRIKE
MEMPHIS, TENNESSEE
RACIAL MATTERS

Re Memphis airtel and LHM dated 3/19/68.

Enclosed herewith for the Bureau are 11 copies and for Atlanta 2 copies of a letterhead memorandum dated and captioned as above.

Copies are being disseminated to the U. S. Attorney and U. S. Secret Service, Memphis, and to Regional Offices of Military Intelligence.

Sources used in enclosed LHM are as follows:

3 - Bureau (Encs.11) (RM)
2 -Atlanta (Encs.2)(Info)(RM)
(1 - 100-5713)
(1 - MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.)
9 - Memphis
(1 - 157-1092)
(1 - 100-4105, MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.)
(1 - 157-556, Possible Racial Violence, Major Urban Areas)
(1 - 170-70 Sub, MR 338-R(Shotgun)) (U)
(1 - 100-4528, [redacted]
(1 - 157-957, [redacted]
(1 - 157-1000, [redacted]
(1 - 157-1013, [redacted]
(1 - 66-1687 Sub A, Dissemination File)

WHL:gmh
(14)

CLASSIFIED & EXTENDED BY 4p4
REASON FOR EXTENSION: FCIM II 1-2 & 2
DATE OF REVIEW FOR DECLASSIFICATION 3/20/88

12/9/81

FBI-Withers-1094

Approved: _____ Sent _____ M Per _____
Special Agent in Charge

All paragraphs are unclassified unless marked to the contrary.

CONFIDENTIAL

170-70-Sub [redacted]

CONFIDENTIAL

Source one is [redacted] (U)

Source two [redacted] (Characterization of JAMES BEVEL) (U)

LEAD:

MEMPHIS DIVISION

Will continue to follow and advise Bureau of pertinent developments.

FBI Withers 1095

CONFIDENTIAL

DECLASSIFICATION AUTHORITY DERIVED FROM:
FBI AUTOMATIC DECLASSIFICATION GUIDE
DATE: 05-15-2012

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to File No.

Memphis, Tennessee
March 21, 1968

Re: SANITATION WORKERS STRIKE,
MEMPHIS, TENNESSEE
RACIAL MATTERS

On March 21, 1968, Lieutenant E. H. Arkin, Inspectional Bureau, Memphis, Tennessee, Police Department, advised that on the late afternoon of March 20, 1968, two small sympathy marches in support of the sanitation workers strike, Memphis, Tennessee, which began February 12, 1968, occurred in downtown Memphis averaging approximately 75 persons in each march. These marches originated at Clayborn Temple and terminated at the Memphis City Hall. The first march consisted primarily of adults and the second march primarily consisted of school age children, mostly teenagers.

The "Commercial Appeal" newspaper, issue of March 21, 1968, reported that leaders of the striking sanitation workers say that the long strike could be ended quickly if the City Council which reconvenes at 4:30 p.m., March 21, 1968, would approve an ordinance offered by Councilman J. O. Patterson, Jr., male Negro, to authorize a payroll deduction of Union dues, pointing out that the Council will meet on the eve of a planned sympathy march throughout downtown Memphis on March 22, 1968, to begin at 9 a.m. to be led by Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. The paper quoted P. J. Ciampa, International Representative for the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees, as saying, "Certainly we'd go back to work after we get some smaller points resolved." Ciampa stated that the dues check-off is the "big stumbling block" to settlement of the 5-week-old walkout. Other unclarified issues are those of written contracts and pay increases.

At a meeting held at St. Louis Catholic Church on the night of March 21, 1968, according to the paper, Mayor Loeb spoke. He stated that he would have no objection to individual sanitation workers, the City Employees' Credit Union, and the Union negotiating a dues-payment agreement whereby the sanitation workers who are members of the Credit Union could ask that the organization deduct the $4.00 a month Labor Union dues from their

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on 12/9/81

FBI Withers 1331

170-70-Sub

pay checks and issue a check to the worker who would then turn it over to Union officials.

He further said he would have no objection to Labor Union officials being present when the sanitation workers receive their pay checks and collecting the Union dues from the employees at that time.

The paper stated that the Patterson ordinance does not specifically provide for dues' check-off for City employees but does say that payroll deductions may be made at the employees' request for contributions to charitable organizations, health insurance, credit unions, and other City employee group plans.

Lieutenant E. H. Arkin, on March 21, 1968, pointed out that the Memphis police will have no alternative but to allow the massive March 22, 1968, sympathy march to march on the streets of downtown Memphis due to the expected 10,000 to 15,000 participants. He stated that the march was scheduled to leave Clayborn Temple not later than 9 a.m., to march north on Hernando to Beale Street, west on Beale to Main, north on Main to Poplar, east on Poplar to Second Street, and south on Second to Beale, returning to Clayborn Temple where it would disperse. Lieutenant Arkin pointed out that there is a concerted effort on the part of the strike sympathizers led by a group of Negro ministers, plus the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), to have all junior high and high school Negro students in Memphis stay away from school to support the sympathy march and that many Negro businesses are permitting their employees to take the day off for the march. He stated that for this reason, he anticipates a large turnout, particularly in view of the fact that Martin Luther King, Jr., who is a nationally known figure, will be a key participant in the march.

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SANITATION WORKERS STRIKE,
MEMPHIS, TENNESSEE

On March 21, 1968, a first source, who is most conversant with all key activities in the Negro community of Memphis, pointed out that he predicts 10,000 to 20,000 participants in the march, basing his prediction on the fact that some 13,000 turned out on the night of March 18, 1968, to hear King when he spoke at Mason Temple. He pointed out that every high school in Memphis which has Negro students, with an estimated 13,000 Negro high school students, has been saturated with leaflets urging all students to remain away from school and that a saturation is also being conducted at the junior high schools, which he estimated to have some 20,000 Negro students. He pointed out that a concerted effort is being made at all of the universities and colleges in Memphis to have students leave those institutions to participate in the march and that the major Negro businesses in Memphis, including Universal Life Insurance Company, Union Protective Life Insurance Company, North Carolina Mutual and Atlanta Life, have all told their employees, which would total several hundred, that they should take off and participate in the march. He stated that the Teamsters Union, the Firestone Local of the United Rubber Workers Union, which has about 1,000 Negro employees, and the United Auto Workers Union at the International Harvester Plant, which has about 1,000 Negro employees, have all promised mass turnouts on the part of their employees to participate in the march.

James Bevel, one of King's key workers, according to source one, has remained in Memphis since March 18, 1968, and has been working in concert with Harold Middlebrook, 257 Walker, a male Negro, in organizing college and high school students to participate in the march.

Source one advised that on March 20, 1968, Bevel and Middlebrook were taken to LeMoyne College, Memphis, by James Phillips and Clinton Roy Jamerson, who have admitted to source being members of the black power group in Memphis known as Black Organizing Power (BOP). Phillips and Jamerson arranged for a nonscheduled meeting at the Student Center, LeMoyne College, at noon on March 20, 1968, with approximately 75 to 100 LeMoyne students attending. Bevel was the main speaker and

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the host was a young white dramatics instructor, understood to be named Lee. Bevel, who source described as about 5 feet 8 inches tall, weighing 170 pounds, light complected, with a receding hairline, now has a full beard and a full mustache. He gave a most virulent black power talk, claiming that the white power structure through economic pressure will eventually to attempt to exterminate the Negroes in the United States in some form of genocide, and pointed out that the United States in its foreign aid program has proven that it is a white supremacist country in that it gives more to white nations in foreign aid than it does to black countries such as those in Africa. Bevel claimed that while the Negroes or black men welcome the support given by the white clergy and white "do-gooders" that these people are not really sincere, that they have no "real soul feeling" toward the Negro, and he suggested that his listeners read several black revolutionary books. He particularly urged them to read "The Wretched of the Earth," by Frantz Fanon.

Source one stated that Charles Laverne Cabbage, the titular leader of the Black Organizing Power (BOP), a Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) oriented group in Memphis, and that John B. Smith, who along with Charles S. Ballard, Charles Harrington and Verdell Brooks, all of Owen College, who came to the meeting, stated that Cabbage is staying in the background for the present time and that he is the over-all organizer and coordinator and planner of the black power movement in Memphis. Bevel told the students that they should cease dancing and playing cards and wasting their time and should come into the black power movement and dedicate themselves to its cause. He urged all of the LeMoyne students to appear at Clayborn Temple as early as 7 a.m., March 22, 1968, to participate en masse in the Martin Luther King-led sympathy march for the sanitation workers strike.

John B. Smith and his group stated that they were canvassing all of the Negro high schools with leaflets urging a mass walkout at the schools with the walking students to participate in the sanitation workers sympathy march.

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SANITATION WORKERS STRIKE,
MEMPHIS, TENNESSEE

Source one stated that James Bevel was scheduled to speak at a mass rally at Lane Avenue Baptist Church on the night of March 21, 1968. Middlebrook and Bevel stated that they planned to also canvass Memphis State University, Southwestern College, and Christian Brothers College later on March 21, 1968, and to appear at Owen Junior College, a Negro institution, on March 21, 1968. John B. Smith bragged to Bevel that his BOP group has also organized at most of the colleges in Memphis.

Source one pointed out that there appeared to be two young militant groups working in support of the sanitation strike. One of these groups is the BOP group headed by Charles Cabbage and John B. Smith and the other is a small undisciplined group of young militants headed by two male Negroes, both of whom have already been arrested in connection with the strike, namely John Henry Ferguson, male Negro, age 20, born September 11, 1947, who resides at 1279 Pennsylvania, and Willie James Jenkins, male Negro, age 18, born August 31, 1949, and residing at 86 West McLemore.

Source one pointed out that Jenkins and Ferguson have a small group of 12 teen-age followers, all militant, who loaf at the headquarters of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees, set up in the Hotel Peabody in Memphis, and that in his considered opinion from this group will come those who will engage in sporadic acts of vandalism throughout Memphis, such as throwing Molotov cocktails into cars and against the homes of the sanitation workers who are continuing to work.

FBI-Withers-1335

SANITATION WORKERS STRIKE,
MEMPHIS, TENNESSEE

At the LeMoyne meeting, according to source one, Bevel told the students that in addition to reading the black nationalist literature described above, they should all read "Muhammad Speaks," the official newspaper of the Nation of Islam, headed in Chicago, Illinois, nationally by Elijah Muhammad. He pointed out that much of Muhammad's program fits his concept of black power philosophy all with the exception of the religious acts aspect, whereby Muhammad claims Allah as his god. He told the students to ignore the religious aspect of the Nation of Islam and merely to follow the economic and political aspects propounded therein.

Bevel then told some of the people present, particularly Milton Mack, a fairly recent recruit into the BOP group and who is older, former student at LeMoyne College, that he, Bevel, plans within the next year to form a new black power organization throughout the United States, pointing out that it would probably supersede SNCC and would take in remnants of the varied, uncoordinated black power groups now existing throughout the United States. He wants to build this into a united effort to have tentacles in all major communities in the United States. Bevel, while an ordained minister, was extremely vulgar and obscene in his talk, shocking some of the women who were present, and it was noted that the Physical Education Instructor left the meeting after some of these vulgarities were spoken by Bevel The Dramatics Professor, believed to be (First Name Unknown) Lee, wanted the students to encourage Dr. Hollis Price, President of LeMoyne, to declare March 22, 1968, an official holiday in order that they could have mass support for the march, whereas Phillips and Jamerson claimed that they need not go through the Administration as they did not like Dr. Price and that the students would take off anyway.

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Bevel indicated that Martin Luther King would probably not return to Memphis until late on March 21, 1968, or even until the early morning of March 22, 1968. He stated that he will be here only long enough for the march as has a tight schedule and that the march would definitely have to start by 9 a.m., in order to fit in with King's schedule. He did not elaborate.

Later on March 21, 1968, according to source one, John B. Smith and Charles Ballard commented that they had been willing to form a "action group" to work on behalf of the Union, but that the Union leaders were afraid of them and would not fund them with money. Source one pointed out that very definitely the Jenkins and Ferguson faction is not a part of the Cabbage-Smith BOP group, at least to this point, and that Ferguson and Jenkins appear to be followers of Harold Middlebrook. Bevel stated that Criminal Court Judge Ben Hooks, a Negro, who is also pastor of the Middle Baptist Church, of which Middlebrook is Assistant Pastor, and who is on the National Executive Board of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC), is hoping to bring the national convention of the SCLC to Memphis for 1968. Source one continued that Middlebrook had formerly worked with King and his group in Atlanta and Birmingham and that he understood that Middlebrook took some of his theological training in Atlanta. He stated that Middlebrook appears to be particularly close to the SCLC, Bevel and King. Source one pointed out that Bevel is a most effective speaker, particularly with regard to young people; that he preyed upon their feelings of avarice and envy, claimed that the white man will purposely not allow them to have enough of the economic goods in this country; and that the black man must learn to assume power, to control property, to control raw material, and to utilize his talents. He stated that the black man is presently not capable of doing this and pointed out as an illustration that "you could put all of the Negroes in the United States on a large island and have all of the necessary raw materials planted not more than two feet deep, and yet they could not survive because they would not have the know-how and the ability to utilize the raw material by turning the raw material into utilitarian products necessary for their survival." He pointed out these were some of the problems

FBI-Withers-1337

that the black man had to overcome before he could control the United States. Bevel indicated that he and his wife, Diane Nash Bevel, have been separated for some time and are possibly divorced.

It definitely appeared to source one that Bevel is organizing for the future. It was significant that thus far since SCLC people have been in Memphis, there has been little or no talk of their recruiting supporters for Martin Luther King's proposed "Poor Peoples' Camp-In," to begin in Washington, D. C., April 22, 1968, although source one pointed out that King will probably try to get commitments from various Memphians prior to his departure.

JAMES BEVEL

Bevel, in early March, 1966, was observed to be present at the offices of the West Side W. E. B. DuBois Club in Chicago (DCA). Discussion took place at this time centering around reaction to a recent notification that the Attorney General of the United States intended to label the DuBois Clubs as Communist front. Bevel, in conversation, stated that he would have ignored this notification and kept about the work in which he was engaged. He felt that if the DuBois Clubs have a real program of help for the people, then the people would answer for the clubs despite any labels applied to them.

Most present agreed that the attack on the DuBois Clubs was a part of the plan by the "establishment" to undermine the civil rights movement. They felt that the recent hearings into Klan activities in this country were only a beginning which would lead to a full-scale attack on the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC), the real target. One of those present stated during the course of this discussion that he was not a Communist, and to this Bevel was

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overheard to reply that every thinking American should be. He stated that Negroes have not begun to read yet, but when they do, they will all be socialists.

(Source two)

(Characterizations of the W. E. B. DuBois Clubs of America (DCA) and the Nation of Islam (NOI) are set forth in the Appendix Section.)

On March 21, 1968, the information furnished by source one was orally furnished to Lieutenant E. H. Arkin, Inspectional Bureau, Memphis, Police Department, and to William Bray, 111th Military Intelligence Corps, Memphis, Tennessee.

FBI-Withers-1339

FD-36 (Rev. 12-13-56)

DECLASSIFICATION AUTHORITY DERIVED FROM:
FBI AUTOMATIC DECLASSIFICATION GUIDE
DATE 02 23 2012

FBI

Date: 3/21/68

Transmit the following in _____ (Type in plain text or code)

CONFIDENTIAL

Via AIRTEL _____ (Priority or Method of Mailing)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI

FROM: SAC, MEMPHIS (157-1092) (P)

SANITATION WORKERS STRIKE,
MEMPHIS, TENNESSEE
RM

Re Memphis LHM and airtel, 3/20/68.

Enclosed for the Bureau are 11 copies of LHM captioned and dated as above.

Three copies are enclosed for Atlanta, 2 for Chicago and 2 for WFO.

Copies are also being disseminated to the U. S. Attorney and U. S. Secret Service, Memphis, and to regional offices of military intelligence.

Source one is [redacted] (U)
Source two is [redacted] (used in characterization of JAMES BEVEL) (U)

~~All paragraphs are unclassified unless marked to the contrary.~~
~~CLASSIFIED & EXTENDED BY SP4~~
~~REASON FOR EXTENSION: FCIM, II, 1-2, 2~~
~~DATE OF REVIEW FOR DECLASSIFICATION 12/9/81~~
~~3/21/88~~

3 - Bureau (Encs.11) (RM)
3 - Atlanta (Encs.3)(RM)
(1 - 100-SCLC)
(1 - 100-MARTIN LUTHER KING)
(1 - 100-[redacted])
2 - Chicago (Encs.2)(RM)
(1 - 100-Sanitation Workers Strike)
(1 - [redacted])
2 - WFO (Encs.2)(RM)
(1 - 100-Sanitation Workers Strike)
(1 - 100-[redacted])
16 - Memphis
(1 - 157-1092)
(1 - 157-556, Possible Racial Violence, Major Urban areas)
(1 - 100-662, NAACP)
(1 - 157-166, SCLC)
(1 - 100-4105, MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.)
~~(ADDITIONAL MEMPHIS COPIES PAGE 2)~~

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WHL:gmh
(26)

Approved: _____ Sent _____ M Per _____
Special Agent in Charge

170-70-Sub

170-70 Sub

FBI-Withers-1340

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(1 - 157- , [redacted]
(1 - 157-109, SNCC)
(1 - 157-1000, [redacted]
(1 - 157-1018, [redacted]
(1 - 100-4528, [redacted]
(1 - 157-957, [redacted]
(1 - 157-1116, [redacted]
(1 - 170-1024, [redacted] (U)
(1 - 170-70 Sub. [ME 338-R/Ghetto)
(1 - 157- , [redacted]
(1 - 66-1687 Sub A, Dissemination File)

LEADS:

ATLANTA, CHICAGO, AND WFO DIVISIONS

Copies are furnished to Atlanta and Chicago for information since SCLC is headquartered in Atlanta and BEVEL is known to have recently lived in Atlanta and Chicago. WFO is being furnished copies because of the impending "Poor Peoples' Camp-In" to begin 4/22/68.

MEMPHIS DIVISION

AT MEMPHIS, TENNESSEE

Will continue to follow and report pertinent activities.

FBI Withers 1341

CONFIDENTIAL

DECLASSIFICATION AUTHORITY DERIVED FROM
FBI AUTOMATIC DECLASSIFICATION RULES
DATE 02-28-2012

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

Memphis, Tennessee
March 26, 1968

Re: SANITATION WORKERS STRIKE,
MEMPHIS, TENNESSEE
RACIAL MATTERS

The "Commercial Appeal" newspaper, Memphis, Tennessee, reported in its issue of March 26, 1968, that mediation talks on the issues of the 7-week-old sanitation strike in Memphis, Tennessee, ran for more than four hours on the afternoon of March 25, 1968, after a brief interlude during which Chancellor Robert Hoffman, Shelby County Chancery Court, ruled that members of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees who were under injunction in his court could represent the workers in their negotiations with the City.

It will be recalled that it was originally reported on March 25, 1968, that Reverend Martin Luther King, Jr., President of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC), would lead a massive march in support of the strike in downtown Memphis on Friday, March 29, 1968.

On the late night of March 25, and the morning of March 26, 1968, a first source advised that this was erroneous information and that a meeting had been held on the evening of March 25, 1968, by the Community on the Move for Equality (COME), the name adopted by the Memphis Interdenominational Ministerial Alliance, a group of some 125 Negro ministers in Memphis, who are leading the strike support, during which time plans for the remainder of the week beginning March 25, 1968, were formulated. These plans are as follows, according to source one:

On Wednesday night, March 27, 1968, Dr. Ralph Abernathy, Vice President-at-Large, SCLC, will speak at Mason Temple, Memphis, at which time he will urge a massive work stoppage on the part of Memphis Negroes and a boycott of the city schools by Negro students in order that thousands of Negroes can participate in a mass march

11 - Bureau; 2 - AT; 1 - DE; 1 - G-2; 1 - OSI; 1 - NISO, Charleston;
1 - NISO, Memphis; 1 - 111th MI, Memphis; 1 - 111th MI, Nashville;
1 - USA, Memphis; 1 - Secret Service, Memphis
5 - Memphis (157-1032)(157-558)(157-166)(100-4103)(170-70 Sub)
WHL:gah (27)

170-70-Sub

b7c

to commence at 10 a.m., Thursday, March 28, 1968, to leave from Clayborn Temple, Hernando and Pontotoc Street, Memphis. This march will be led by Reverend Martin Luther King, Jr., who is expected to arrive in Memphis early on the morning of March 28, 1968.

On the night of March 28, 1968, Reverend Martin Luther King, Jr., will address a mass strike support rally also to be held in Mason Temple; and on Friday night, March 29, 1968, also in Mason Temple, a mass strike support rally will be addressed by Dr. C. L. Franklin, also known as Reverend C. L. Franklin, Negro minister of Detroit, Michigan.

Source one stated Franklin is a former Memphian, is a leader in the National Baptist Convention, USA, headed by Dr. J. H. Jackson of Chicago, Illinois, and is a renowned Negro evangelist who formerly lived in Memphis and whose daughter, Aretha Franklin, is a nationally known rhythm and blues singer. In the source's opinion, Franklin will draw a tremendous crowd due to not only his personal popularity in the Negro religious community, but by virtue of the popularity of his daughter.

It is planned by the COME leaders that both Dr. Franklin and Reverend Martin Luther King, Jr., will remain in Memphis until Saturday, March 30, 1968, at which time another mammoth march is scheduled in downtown Memphis, this again to commence at Clayborn Temple at 10 a.m., March 30, 1968.

Source one stated that in all probability when the marchers come up Main Street in front of the Memphis City Hall that King and others will probably stop and address the marchers from the plaza area in front of the Memphis City Hall. The government plaza consists of four major buildings, all facing Main Street between Adams and Poplar, these being the City Hall, the Federal Building, the Tennessee State Office Building, and the Memphis Police Department; and several thousand people could easily congregate on the plaza.

FBI-Withers-1343

DECLASSIFICATION EXEMPTIONS DERIVED FROM:
FBI AUTOMATIC DECLASSIFICATION GUIDE
DATE 02-28-2012

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to File No.

Memphis, Tennessee
March 29, 1968

Re: SANITATION WORKERS STRIKE,
MEMPHIS, TENNESSEE
RACIAL MATTERS

On March 28, 1968, a first source advised that the sanitation strike, Memphis, Tennessee, has been in progress since February 12, 1968, and that it has gradually deteriorated into a racial conflict. The source stated that the vast majority of the 1300 strikers were members of the Negro race. Source one also stated that the strike support had been primarily taken over by Negro groups in Memphis, Tennessee, primarily consisting of approximately 125 Negro ministers, members of the Memphis Interdenominational Ministerial Alliance which has adopted the name Community on the Move for Equality (COME); and source recalled that daily marches in support of the strike have been held originating at Clayborn Temple, a church of the African Methodist Episcopal Church located at 280 Hernando, Memphis, Tennessee, this being the strike support headquarters. Nightly rallies have been held at various Negro churches and such nationally known leaders as Roy Wilkins of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), Bayard Rustin of the A. Philip Randolph Institute, and Reverend Martin Luther King, Jr., President of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC), have come to Memphis to address large rallies of strike supporters.

Source one recalled that Reverend King spoke at a mass rally in Mason Temple on the night of March 18, 1968, at which time he called for the Memphis Negro community to have a massive downtown rally during which all Negro employees would stay away from work and all school children would stay away from school and scheduled this march for March 22, 1968. This march was cancelled at the last minute due to a 16-inch snowfall in Memphis on that date and was later re-scheduled for Thursday, March 28, 1968.

11 - Bureau; 2 - Atlanta; 1 - G-2; 1 - OSI; 1 - NISO, Charleston; 1 - NISO, Memphis; 1 - 111th MI, Mfs., 1 - 111th MI, Nashville; 1 - USA, Memphis; 1 - U.S. Secret Service, Memphis
11 - Memphis (157-1092)(157-556)(170-70 Sub)(170-1040)(100-4105)(157-163)(100-4528)(157-1038)(157-957)(157-1018)(157-109)
WHL:gmh (32)

Declassified by SEP on 12/9/11

170-70-Sub

FBI-Withers-1344

SANITATION WORKERS STRIKE,
MEMPHIS, TENNESSEE

Source one stated that a concerted effort had been made on the part of the strike support leaders to induce people to stay away from work and to induce school children to stay away from school and participate in the march.

Source one, along with Lieutenant E. H. Arkin, Inspectional Bureau, Memphis Police Department, both advised on March 28, 1968, that preceding the march high school age students from several Negro high schools in a rather boisterous manner left school to head downtown to participate in the mass march scheduled for March 28, 1968, to begin at 10 a.m. At Hamilton High School, a predominantly Negro high school, some two hundred to three hundred youngsters took to the streets, began throwing rocks, and resulted in police being called. They threw rocks and bricks at the police, injuring several police and as a result the police had to use considerable force, according to Lieutenant Arkin, to quell this disturbance. First reports were that tear gas was used on the students, although Lieutenant Arkin stated that this definitely was not true.

Source one and Lieutenant Arkin pointed out that the start of the march was delayed until approximately 11 a.m., due to the late arrival in Memphis of Reverend Martin Luther King, Jr., who was to head the march. He did not arrive until approximately 10:22 a.m. at the Airport, and in fact did not join the march until it had proceeded one block north on Hernando from Clayborn Temple.

Source one, source two and source three, all of whom were in the vicinity of Clayborn Temple immediately prior to the start of the march, pointed out that approximately five thousand to six thousand people congregated near the Temple for the start of the march and they estimated that at least half of these people were teenagers and of school age. Among the marchers were individuals who sources, who are familiar with many people in the Negro community, would describe as common criminals and both sources one and two recognized several as being people who have been in and out of penal institutions for various law infractions in the past.

FBI-Withers-1345

SANITATION WORKERS STRIKE,
MEMPHIS, TENNESSEE

The march was ostensibly under the control, according to these three sources, of the COME group. The COME group handed out literally hundreds of prepared placards made of cardboard and carried on long 4-foot pine poles. It was apparent to these three sources prior to the march that many of the youngsters were planning to use the placards as sticks and clubs because they were indiscriminately ripping the cardboard away, leaving a 4-foot pole in their hands which many of them waved in a threatening manner.

In fairness to the march marshals and ministers leading the march, all three sources heard several of them caution the people in the crowd against violence and some of the youths would utter obscenities at those who were cautioning them. Sources one, two and three observed in the vicinity of the Temple several individuals in Memphis who have identified themselves with the black power movement.

For example, source three observed John Henry Ferguson, who has already been arrested three times in connection with incidents in connection with the strike, a young male Negro, and John Burrell Smith, an Owen College student, and self-acclaimed leader of the Black Power movement, at the Mosque. Ferguson made fun of the marchers, saying that he had more important things to do, inferring that he was going to engage in violence. Source one, who is particularly close to the black power movement, which he said refers to itself as Black Organizing Power (BOP), an affiliate of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) and headed by Charles Laverne Cabbage and John Burrell Smith, commented that in fairness to the BOP group these individuals did not organize any violence as such. However, these individuals have repeatedly made inflammatory statements during recent weeks and he recalled that on the night of March 5, 1968, Charles Laverne Cabbage, before approximately 1500 people at a strike support rally in Clayborn Temple, passed out to the audience a leaflet containing an inflammatory letter from H. Rap Brown, Chairman of the SNCC,

FBI-Withers-1346

and also containing a professional type drawing showing in detail how one could make a Molotov cocktail.

Source one stated also that in recent weeks, John B. Smith has been bragging that he and his followers have been urging high school students to remain away from school when the mass march to be led by Reverend Martin Luther King, Jr., was to be held. Source one pointed out that prior to the start of the March 28, 1968, march that John Smith and some of his associates were in his opinion inciting to violence in that they were indiscriminately giving out the 4-foot pine poles to various teenage youngsters in the area and John Smith was heard by source one to tell these youngsters, identities not known, not to be afraid to use these sticks. He did not elaborate as to what he meant.

On March 28 and again on March 29, 1968, source two advised that prior to the start of the march, the parade marshals agreed to put the sanitation workers strikers in the front of the march with the remainder of the people to follow behind. He stated that several of the marshals kept cautioning the youngsters to be peaceful and that he personally saw two self-admitted BOP people, James Elmore Phillips and Samuel Carter, both students at LeMoyne College, male Negroes, and other unknown associates; and that they were making remarks sometime between 8:30 and 9:30 a.m. near the Clayborn Temple that they were going to "tear this S.O.B. town up today." Phillips made some general statements about some high school students being "chicken" and staying in school rather than marching and he stated that the white people who were participating in the march were fools for marching because if any trouble started that the Negro marchers would turn on them first.

Source two stated that the march started at approximately 11 o'clock a.m., and that Phillips and Carter and some of their unknown associates remained behind. As

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the march progressed north of Linden on Hernando, Phillips and another associate from LeMoyne College, understood to be in the BOP group, Clinton Roy Jamerson, went back into an alley and obtained some sticks and bricks. At this point, they moved on up ahead of source two. He did not see them thereafter. Source two added that the march progressed peacefully, although it was definitely not well organized in that the marchers were walking all over the street and sidewalks and that there was no order whatsoever to the line of march. He stated that the march headed north on Hernando to Beale, west on Beale toward Main Street, and that by the time he reached Third and Beale many of the teenagers had ripped the signs off their poles and were waving them wildly as clubs.

On March 28, 1968, source one advised that the abovementioned Samuel Carter is a self-admitted member of the BOP group and also on February 16, 1968, in connection with another FBI investigation James Elmore Phillips, Charles L. Cabbage, Clinton Roy Jamerson, and John Burrell Smith all admitted to representatives of the FBI that they were members of the Governing Body of BOP which they admitted was affiliated with the SNCC, with national headquarters in Atlanta, Georgia.

Source two continued that on reaching Third and Beale Street, the head of the march had already progressed as far west as Main Street and he observed unknown young Negroes using the long sticks to break windows in Paul's Clothing Store at Third and Beale and that he could hear windows breaking further west on Beale Street, a 2-block area consisting of pawn shops, clothing stores, and dry goods stores. Almost as if spontaneously Negroes who had been in the march began looting these stores and breaking windows and running in all directions. Some of the parade marshals were urging them to reverse their direction and return to Clayborn Temple in an effort to break up the crowd. Police officers were also urging them to cease and desist and return to the Temple. By this time, which would have

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been approximately 11:15 a.m., according to source two, mass confusion reigned, people were running in all directions, and the police were doing the best they could to stop the looters and move them back toward Clayborn Temple. Various Negroes started rumors that the police had shot a teen-age girl but source later determined that this was not true.

Source two returned to the Temple, along with several hundred of the marchers.

On March 28, 1968, Lieutenant Arkin stated that when the front of the march had proceeded to Beale and Main Street, there was complete disorder on the part of the marchers; they were all over the sidewalks and all over the streets; and that at this point Martin Luther King, Jr., who had joined the march at Hernando and Beale with the Vice President of the SCLC, Reverend Ralph D. Abernathy, and others unknown at that point to Lieutenant Arkin, were still marching at the head of the march. As the windows of store fronts were broken out and sporadic looting began, King remarked that he had to get out of there. He and some of his associates ran on ahead and jumped into an old Pontiac automobile and were escorted away from the march by a Police Lieutenant to the Riverront Hotel, an exclusive new hotel on the Mississippi River front operated by Holiday Inns of America. Lieutenant Arkin stated that King left the march at about 11:15 a.m and had checked into the Riverront by 11:24 a.m.

Lieutenant Arkin added that by approximately noon the Police Department had broken up the crowd, being forced to use tear gas particularly in the vicinity of Clayborn Temple, after some of the marchers who had run into the Temple began throwing rocks and bricks at police from the roof top of the Temple and also began throwing from the streets, and when the police would start after them they would run into the Temple.

SANITATION WORKERS STRIKE,
MEMPHIS, TENNESSEE

Source two recalled that prior to the start of the march some of the associates of Phillips and Phillips were making remarks near Clayborn Temple to the effect that some of the marchers should break windows and loot.

Source three stated that after the marchers returned to Clayborn Temple, after the looting started, the so-called black power group, including many apparent unorganized teenagers, virtually took over the Temple and Reverend James Morris Lawson, Jr., one of the leaders of the CORE group, was unable to control them. One of these individuals made the statement, "We're going to take over this town."

The "Press-Scimitar" newspaper, Memphis, Tennessee, issue of March 29, 1968, in a story by Clark Porteous, "Press-Scimitar" staff writer, who observed portions of the disturbance on Beale Street where the major portion of the early looting occurred, stated that he saw the Memphis police take an awful lot off the looters in the way of bricks and bottles and that he heard some reports of police being rough on citizens, but he did not see any police brutality. He stated that many of the officers were taking a lot and doing it bravely.

Another story in the "Press-Scimitar" issue of March 29, 1968, by Staff Reporter James R. Reid, described the rampant window breaking and looting which occurred from the South Main Street area around Beale Street, east on Beale to Hernando, and pointed out that Memphis police officers formed a line in an effort to move the crowd back and that they gave ample warning. The story reported that many of the crowd instead glowered at the officers who tried to move them from the area and that when the officers pushed against the crowd, many of the crowd pushed back. Reid reported that he saw one officer there felled in the melee, and that the crowd was then out of control with many of the crowd having long wooden sticks. He stated that police officers with megaphones asked the crowd to move and stated, "For your safety, move back."

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Some of the officers pleaded, according to Reid. He stated that many of the officers had earlier been pelted with rocks and bricks and had restrained themselves from using clubs or gas. He stated that considerable force was needed by the police in order to control the crowd which had virtually turned into a mob and that it was necessary for the police to strike several of the Negroes with night sticks in order to control them. He stated that he saw Lieutenant D. W. Williams of the Police Department turn from a small group of Negroes with his face covered with blood and saw other officers falling along the way. He stated that the officers observed by him reverted to force only after everything else had failed, yet he heard some of the Negroes in the crowd yell, "Police brutality." He stated that some of the owners of businesses, who had their windows smashed and their merchandise stolen as they took refuge from the violent mob that surged through the streets, were heard to remark that no one was complaining about "mob brutality." He stated that many officers were struck by bottles, sticks and large rocks thrown by the crowd and that those in the crowd who responded quickly to the officers' command to move on not with little or no physical persuasion from the officers. He stated that, in fairness, most of the crowd did move quickly.

Source three added that this source remained near Clayborn Temple throughout the march and observed numerous teen-age Negroes with sticks and also observed some of them literally tear some old iron beds apart, making iron pipes from the parts thereof, and making statements, "We're going to get some white bastards today," whereupon they ran down and caught up with the march and joined it. Source three pointed out that the march was extremely poorly organized; that the march leaders had no control over the marchers, even before they started; and that it was obvious that there would probably be trouble.

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Lieutenant Arkin on March 28, 1968, advised that a reliable source of the Police Department had between 8 and 9 a.m., March 28, 1968, observed John B. Smith and some of his black power associates near the Claybora Temple with sticks and brickbats.

Source two added that he heard Charles L. Cabbage tell some of the crowd as they left the Temple, after the marchers returned to the Temple, that they should not run from the police and that they should "not start a job that they did not plan to finish." Cabbage did not elaborate but source two construed this as a call for trouble.

A fourth source advised that Reverend Martin Luther King, Jr., Ralph D. Abernathy, and Bernard Lee, administrative aide to King, were scheduled to leave Memphis at 9:05 p.m., Central Standard Time, via Eastern Airlines, en route to Atlanta, Georgia, and were scheduled to leave Atlanta, Georgia, on the early morning of March 29, 1968, to fly to Friendship Airport in Baltimore, Maryland.

Source one advised that after the trouble on Beale Street, the mass rally scheduled for Mason Temple on the night of March 28, 1968, which was to have featured Martin Luther King, Jr., as the main speaker, was cancelled.

On the late night of March 28, 1968, source four advised that King, Abernathy and Lee had failed to catch the above-described flight and that no one had cancelled his reservations, and that to his knowledge King was still staying at the Rivermont Hotel.

During the afternoon and evening of March 28, 1968, Lieutenant Arkin advised that sporadic looting continued in the south-central area of Memphis, which is predominantly a Negro area, and that the main targets of the sporadic vandals were liquor stores and small grocery stores and sundry stores.

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On the late night of March 28, 1968, Lieutenant Arkin advised that there had been numerous small fires set but none of them were serious. He stated that the Memphis Fire Department was able to extinguish the fires without trouble. He pointed out that during the afternoon of March 28, 1968, the Tennessee State Legislature in a special session passed a statute which would give Memphis Mayor Henry Loeb authority to apply a curfew and that such a curfew was ordered to begin at 7 p.m., March 28, 1968.

Lieutenant Arkin further advised that by 6 p.m., March 28, 1968, approximately 3500 members of the Tennessee National Guard consisting of the Memphis unit and West Tennessee units had arrived and was on duty in Memphis, Tennessee, and that Guardsmen were preparing to patrol Memphis in tactical units, each unit to be accompanied by one or more officers of the Memphis Police Department.

On the morning of March 29, 1968, Inspector G. P. Tines, Inspectional Bureau, Memphis Police Department, advised from records, as yet incomplete at the Memphis Police Department regarding the following statistics relative to the racial disturbance in Memphis from approximately 9 a.m., March 28, 1968, to 12 noon, March 29, 1968, as follows:

A total of 150 fires were set; most were small in nature, primarily trash fires. Approximately 30 of these were estimated by the Memphis Fire Department to have been caused by Molotov cocktails or some similar incendiary device. There have been over 300 arrests, exact count not as yet completed, primarily consisting of charges of looting, violation of curfew, arson, disorderly conduct, and related offenses. An approximate total of 60 individuals, many of whom were arrestees, have received medical attention for various injuries received in connection with the looting

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and over-all disturbance. In addition, over 300 reported cases of looting and rather major vandalism have been reported to the Memphis Police Department by merchants throughout Memphis, again most of these being confined to the south-central area of Memphis, which is a predominantly Negro area. Inspector Tines emphasized again that the incomplete count shows that most of these were liquor stores, small grocery stores, sundry stores, and related establishments, plus numerous clothing stores and related stores in the Beale Street and South Main Street area, described hereinbefore.

Inspector Tines advised that five officers of the Memphis Police Department were injured sufficiently to require hospitalization and that there were scores of minor injuries to officers requiring only on-the-spot field first aid.

Inspector Tines continued that there was a total of four individuals who were shot while in the process of looting, or as a result thereof. They are as follows: Larry Payne, male Negro, age 16, 3023 Parker Road, an 11th grade student at Mitchell Road School, which is actually operated by the Shelby County Board of Education, just south of the Memphis City Limits. He was pronounced dead on arrival at John Gaston City Hospital, 1:20 p.m., March 28, 1968. He was shot by an officer of the Memphis Police Department as he attacked this police officer with a butcher knife after he had looted a Sears Roebuck store on South Third Street. He had run from this store into the vicinity of the Fowler Homes on South Fourth Street. Another shot but not killed was A. A. Sundry, Negro male, residence 303 Vance, who was wounded in the neck by a police officer while looting a store. Sundry was not seriously injured as the injury was superficial. Another shot but not killed was Alan Hintrell, Negro male, age 17, residing 988 Springdale Street, Memphis. He was shot by a citizen while looting a store at 1280 Thomas about 4 p.m., March 28, 1968, by the store manager James Taylor. Taylor was charged by the police with assault to murder. He was shot after a beer bottle was thrown through the store window. Tines stated that Hintrell is in serious condition with a shotgun slug in his back.

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Another shot but not killed, according to Tines, was Ralf Dennis Payne, age 21, male Negro of 1835 Castalia, Apt. 3. He was shot by a policeman while looting a grocery store near Greenwood and Walker and is in fair condition.

Tines added that a preliminary count of available arrest tickets, which is definitely not a complete list, indicates that at least ten Negroes arrested had pistols or revolvers on their persons and that numerous others had other lethal weapons such as knives.

Lieutenant Arkin advised that at approximately 1:20 p.m., March 28, 1968, the Memphis Transit Authority which operates the Memphis City Bus System, after receiving numerous complaints from its bus drivers that they feared for their personal well being due to the disorder, coupled with the fact that many of them had been individually robbed in the past, decided as a safety measure to stop the movement of City Buses for the remainder of March 28, 1968.

The Memphis "Commercial Appeal" Newspaper, issue of March 29, 1968, in a front-page story, by an unidentified writer, reported that many of the looters and window breakers were black power advocates, and that several wore jackets of the "Invaders," a local black power group. This story did not give any basis for its statement to this effect.

On March 28 and 29, 1968, source one and source two, along with Lieutenant E. H. Arkin, all of whom are familiar with many phases of the black power movement in Memphis, Tennessee, advised that a small group of the BOP followers have put the word "Invaders" on their jackets but that many high school age students have done this for effect and are not necessarily affiliated with the BOP movement.

Sources one and two, along with Arkin, added that thus far there is no evidence that any of the BOP group participated in the looting and in fact source one who is particularly close to this group advised that he saw many of them immediately after the initial rioting and looting

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started and that they definitely had not personally been involved in the looting. Source one pointed out that as mentioned hereinbefore these individuals had done much by their previous statements and actions outlined above to incite some of the more ignorant and greedy youths who were in the march.

Source one, who is particularly close to the Negro ghetto area, stated that in his opinion and in his conversations with numerous Negroes who observed portions of the disturbance and who are familiar with their actions, that the looting was not organized as such. He observed that in his opinion approximately 1 per cent of the marchers engaged in looting and violence and that many of these were people who were criminally inclined and who had been in previous trouble. He stated that in his many years of experience he would say that probably the first breaking of the first window was enough to set off the crowd which had been emotionally worked up by its long wait for the start of the march and by the general festive air surrounding the march which was on a balmy spring day and was participated in by several hundred youths who obviously had cut school in order to participate.

The information set out hereinbefore has been orally furnished to representatives of Military Intelligence, Memphis, Tennessee, and the information not received from the Memphis Police Department has been orally furnished to Inspector G. P. Tines and Lieutenant E. H. Arkin of the Inspectional Bureau, Memphis Police Department.

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

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FD-36 (Rev. 12-13-56)

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DATE 02-23-2012

FBI

Date: 3/29/68

CONFIDENTIAL

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plain text or code)

Via AIRTEL _____
(Priority or Method of Mailing)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI

FROM: SAC, MEMPHIS (157-1092) (P)

SANITATION WORKERS STRIKE,
MEMPHIS, TENNESSEE
RM

(OO: Memphis)

Re Memphis airtel and LHM, 3/28/68.

Enclosed for Bureau are 11 copies and for Atlanta 2 copies of LHM captioned and dated as above.

Copies are being furnished U. S. Attorney, Memphis; U. S. Secret Service, Memphis; and Regional Offices of Military Intelligence.

All paragraphs are unclassified unless noted to the contrary
CLASSIFIED & EXTENDED BY 6P4
REASON FOR EXTENSION: 11/9/81
FCIM II, 1-2.4.2
DATE OF REVIEW FOR DECLASSIFICATION 3/29/88

3 - Bureau (Encs.11)
2 - Atlanta (Encs.2)
12 - Memphis
(1 - 157-1092)
(1 - 157-556, Possible Racial Violence, Major Urban Areas)
(1 - 170-70 Sub [MR 338-R(Ghetto)]) (U)
(1 - 170-1040, [redacted]
(1 - 100-4105, MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.)
(1 - 157-166, SCLC)
(1 - 100-4528, [redacted]
(1 - 157-1038, [redacted]
(1 - 157-957, [redacted]
(1 - 157-1018, [redacted]
(1 - 157-109, SNCC)
(1 - 66-1687 Sub A, Dissemination File)

WHL:gmh
(17)

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Approved: R G Jensen
Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____ M Per _____

170-70-Sub

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Source one is [redacted] (U)

Source two is [redacted]

Source three is [redacted]

Source four is [redacted]

Information in the enclosed LHM was furnished to WILLIAM BRAY, 111th Military Intelligence, Third Army, Memphis, Tennessee.

LEADS:

ATLANTA DIVISION (INFO)

Information copies are being furnished Atlanta in view of the fact that it is origin in the case re MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR., and SCLC.

MEMPHIS DIVISION

AT MEMPHIS, TENN.

Will continue to follow and report pertinent developments.

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DECLASSIFICATION AUTHORITY DERIVED FROM
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DATE 01-29-2012

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to File No.

Memphis, Tennessee
April 2, 1968

Declassified by SP4
12/10/81

Re: SANITATION WORKERS STRIKE,
MEMPHIS, TENNESSEE
RACIAL MATTERS

On March 31, 1968, Lieutenants George Feathers and E. H. Arkin and Inspector G. P. Tines, all of the Inspectional Bureau, Memphis, Tennessee, Police Department, advised that no major incidents occurred in Memphis on the night of March 30, 1968, or during March 31, 1968. There were no marches or rallies scheduled by any groups supporting the striking Memphis sanitation workers, and during March 31, 1968, over 2,000 Tennessee National Guardsmen who had been a part of the some 3,500 who had been on duty in Memphis since the evening of March 28, 1968, were released and sent back to their respective communities. Approximately 1,000 Guardsmen remained on duty in Memphis during the evening of March 31, 1968. The curfew which had been in effect since the night of March 28, 1968, which runs from 7 p.m. until 5 a.m. each day, continued on the night of March 30, 1968, and was scheduled for the night of March 31, 1968. There were a few arrests for Disorderly Conduct, Curfew violations and window breaking during the night and early morning of March 30-31, 1968, but, according to the above three sources, these were no more than usual for a Saturday night and early Sunday morning.

Inspector Tines advised that Memphis police and city officials were concerned about increased racial tension in the community resulting from the mass arrests growing out of the March 28, 1968, widespread looting and vandalism which grew out of the uncompleted mass sympathy march for the sanitation workers led by the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC) President, Dr. Martin Luther King. He pointed out that many Negroes, including some influential Negroes, have been making public complaints regarding allegations of alleged police brutality growing out of some of the arrests and from the crowd dispersal on March 28, 1968.

11 - Bureau; 3 - AT; 3 - WFO; 2-LS; 2-CG; 2-JN; 2-PH; 1 - USA, Memphis; 1 - Secret Service, Memphis; 1 - G-2; 1 - OSI; 1 - NISO, Memphis; 1 - NISD, Charleston; 1 - 111th MI, Memphis; 1 - 111th MI, Nashville; 13-Memphis (157-1092)(157-558)(157-109)(157-168)(100-4105)(170-70 Sub) (170-93)(100-4528)(170-1024)(157-1070)(157-937)(157-1097)(100-32)
BHL:gah (46)

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170-70-Sub-

and that the biggest emotional factor surrounds the death of the 17-year-old male Negro, Larry Payne, who was shot to death by a Memphis police officer on March 28, 1968, after he had participated in the looting of a Sears-Roebuck Store on South Third Street and ran out of the store with what Inspector Tines understood to be a portable television set. Tines pointed out that young Payne ran to a nearby housing project in which his mother lived and refused to give himself up when the officer ordered him to halt. Payne, according to Tines, allegedly came at the officer with a butcher knife and as a result the officer shot him, with Payne being pronounced dead on arrival at John Gaston Hospital. Tines pointed out that numerous purported Negro witnesses are now claiming that Payne was unarmed when the officer shot him. He said that Payne's funeral was scheduled for 11 a.m., Tuesday, April 2, 1968, with interment in the New Park Cemetery on Horn Lake Road in South Shelby County just south of Memphis City Limits. The funeral ceremony will be preached by Reverend B. T. Dumas and Payne's body will lie in state Monday, April 1, 1968, beginning at 3 p.m., at Clayborn Temple AME Church, 280 Hernando, Memphis. He said that N. J. Ford and Sons Funeral Parlor, 219 Joubert Avenue, is in charge of the funeral arrangements.

Inspector Tines pointed out that Clayborn Temple has been the focal point and unofficial headquarters of the major portion of strike support activity in Memphis for over the past month and that it is anticipated that thousands of Memphis Negroes will come to Clayborn Temple to view Payne's body and to hear possible eulogies delivered by various of the ministers connected with the Community on the Move for Equality (COME), the Memphis Negro ministerial group leading the strike support activity. Tines predicted that a wave of emotion will arise as a result of this and that the Police Department will be most alert for any possible sporadic outbursts of Negro retaliation ensuing therefrom.

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He stated it was his understanding that the curfew would continue in effect in Memphis at least through April 1, 1968.

On March 31 and again on the morning of April 1, 1968, a first source confirmed the opinion of Inspector Tines regarding the rampant emotional tension growing out of the March 28, 1968, incidents and particularly the strong feeling in the Negro community building up mass resentment against the Police Department and authority in general on the part of the Negro community as a result of Larry Payne's death.

Source one pointed out that the Negro community will lose sight of the fact that Larry Payne played hooky from Mitchell Road High School on March 28, 1968, to participate in the mass march and will lose sight of the fact that he committed a crime, to wit: looting of the Sears Roebuck Store. He stated that the Negroes will be concerned only with the fact that he was shot to death and that there will probably not be a Negro in Memphis who is not convinced that he was unarmed when he was shot. Source one pointed out that Payne was extremely popular in the south portion of Shelby County in the vicinity of Mitchell Road High School where he attended and was also extremely popular in the Fowler Homes Housing Project where he was shot. Source one pointed out that Payne's mother and father are separated and that Payne spent considerable time with his father who lives in South Shelby County and with his mother who lives in the Fowler Homes Housing Project. These, of course, are both all-Negro neighborhoods. The source pointed out that Payne thus knows two different cross-sections of Negro youths, (1) the deprived low-economic income group which lives in the Fowler Homes area, many of whom are criminally prone based upon their environment, and (2) the cross-section of middle class Negro children who live in the Mitchell Road High School area.

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Source one continued that Reverend B. T. Dumas, pastor of Payne's home church, the Mt. Parham Church, at Trigg and Florida Avenue, is a stable individual and will probably not preach an inflammatory sermon.

Source one pointed out, however, that the COME group has purposely talked Payne's parents into allowing his body to lie in state at Clayborn Temple in order that his death can be exploited and publicized by them in an effort to build up support for their over-all movement. He pointed out that Clayborn Temple can seat 2500 people.

Source one also advised on the early morning of March 31, 1968, that the plans to have Payne's funeral had been rescheduled from 8 p.m., April 1, 1968, until 11 a.m., April 2, 1968. The funeral will now be held in Clayborn Temple and the body will lie in state at Clayborn Temple from 3 to 5 p.m., April 1, 1968.

Source one added that at least three aides of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., have arrived in Memphis over the weekend of March 31 - April 1, 1968, namely, Hosea Williams, Director of Political Education, SCLC; James L. Bevel, Director of Nonviolent Action; and Reverend James Orange. They are attempting to line up support for the tentatively scheduled mass sanitation workers support march to be held Wednesday, April 3, 1968, which they claim will be led by Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. According to source one, Dr. King is expected in Memphis sometime in the late afternoon or early evening of April 2, 1968.

Later on April 1, 1968, Lieutenant George Feathers advised that it had been ascertained that several of the SCLC advance party are staying at the Lorraine Motel, 406 Mulberry Street, Memphis, having checked in for the most part on March 31, 1968. Lieutenant Feathers was unable to ascertain whether or not all of the following are connected with the SCLC but furnished the following names of individuals having recently checked in at the Lorraine:

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John T. Johnson, 334 Auburn Avenue, Atlanta, Georgia, staying in Room 210 (two in party);

S. B. Chitmeader, Jr., 464 Third Street, Parks, Mississippi, staying in Room 202, checked in March 31, 1968 (two in party);

Emanuel Patterson, 412 Howard Avenue, Lancaster, Pennsylvania, staying in Room 309, checked in at 10:15 a.m., March 31, 1968 (two in party);

Reverend Jesse Jackson, [illegible] East 47th Street, Chicago, Illinois, staying in Room 305, checked in at 8:20 (not known if a.m. or p.m.), March 31, 1968;

James Orange, 334 Auburn Avenue, N. E., Atlanta, Georgia, staying in Room 304, checked in at 11 p.m., March 31, 1968;

James L. Bevel, 8407 South Normart Street, Chicago, Illinois, staying in Room 301, checked in at 1:10 a.m., March 31, 1968.

Lieutenant Feathers added that reservations have been made for 6 p.m., April 1, 1968, for a Joseph Lowe, New York, New York, and it is surmised by the Police Department that he may be connected with this group.

Lieutenant Feathers stated that his department had further learned that two male Negroes, both of Shreveport, Louisiana, are registered at the Holiday Inn, South Third Street, Memphis, who conceivably might be connected with this group, although it is not known positively. They are George Smith, residence 4354 Broadway, Shreveport, Louisiana, and F. Jerome Swain, 5340 Ross and 3701 Hollywood, Shreveport, Louisiana. They are driving a Cadillac automobile, bearing Louisiana license 1346475.

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SANITATION WORKERS STRIKE,
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Lieutenant Feathers further advised that his department has learned that one Dale White from Washington, D. C., who claims to be connected with some branch of the Methodist Church, has been in Memphis at the downtown branch of Holiday Inn for about one week and has been in close contact with many of the strike support leaders who have been arranging the recent marches.

The "Commercial Appeal" newspaper, issue of April 1, 1968, in a front-page story, reported that a protest strategy meeting was held on the night of March 31, 1968, at the Minimum Salary Office of the AME Church, 280 Hernando, adjacent to Clayborn Temple, at which those present promised to "escalate the demonstrations" in Memphis. The story reported that Reverend Jesse Jackson, acting as spokesman for King's aides, promised tightening of the economic boycott, the establishment of a branch of the SCLC in Memphis, control of the black community, and a merger with black power elements of the city. The story identified the other aides of King currently in Memphis as Hosea Williams, Reverend James Bevel, and Reverend James Orange. The story stated this strategy meeting was attended by representatives of the striking union, the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees, P. J. Ciampa, Jesse Epps, and William Lucy, and that representatives of the local black power group, not further identified, were also present. The story stated that a spokesman of the COME group stated that smaller downtown demonstrations would resume at 2 p.m. on April 1, 1968, and would continue daily. The paper reported that Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., said the Memphis march forced him to cancel a planned trip to Nigeria where he said he was to attempt to negotiate a settlement between the breakaway nation of Biafra.

It is significant that on April 1, 1968, source one advised that Charles L. Cabbage, leader of the Black Organizing Power (BOP), the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) affiliated movement in Memphis, spent the weekend of March 30-31, 1968, at the Lorraine Motel and was interviewed at length

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on the night of March 30, 1968, by Robert Analavage who has a press card for the "Guardian," a weekly New York, New York, paper, which is identified on its masthead as being an "independent radical news weekly." Source one stated that Analavage also is a correspondent for the "Southern Patriot," official publication of Southern Conference Educational Fund, Inc. (SCEF), with headquarters at Louisville, Kentucky.

(A characterization of the SCEF is set forth hereinafter in the Appendix Section.)

Analavage was in Memphis to get a story on the sanitation workers strike and in the interview with Cabbage by Analavage, Cabbage said that he did not think that King had any business in Memphis in the first place and that he and his BOP group had not participated in the actual March 28, 1968, march which resulted in violence. Analavage added that it appears that Cabbage and two of his key BOP leader associates, John Burrell Smith and Edwina Jeanetta Harrell, all want to destroy the King image but that it appears that King and his group will have to get control to a limited extent of the BOP group if they expect to have future non-violent marches in Memphis.

Source one added that later on the night of March 30, 1968, Analavage was introduced to Reverend James Morris Lawson, Jr., pastor of the Centenary Methodist Church, and one of the leaders of the COME group, who, according to source one, was primarily responsible for bringing King and his aides to Memphis in the first place. Source one stated that Lawson told Analavage that actually the BOP including John B. Smith and Charles Cabbage had been a part of the strike support strategy for some time and had been a part of the strategy-making forces leading up to the March 28, 1968, march. Lawson stated, according to Analavage, that he was somewhat skeptical of Cabbage and the BOP as he felt that BOP has been infiltrated by some government investigative agency and mentioned the CIA as a possibility; and that for this reason the COME group does not fully trust Cabbage and his group.

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SANITATION WORKERS STRIKE,
MEMPHIS, TENNESSEE

REVEREND JAMES MORRIS LAWSON, JR.

On May 9, 1967, source two advised that on a WHBQ-TV panel discussion on Sunday, April 30, 1967, Reverend James Morris Lawson, Jr., Negro male, pastor of the Centenary Methodist Church, Memphis, and who has been a leader in the April, 1967, demonstrations in Memphis opposing United States policy in Vietnam, was asked by Panelist Clark Porteous, "Press-Scimitar" Reporter, if he, Lawson, was a Communist. Lawson replied that he was not a member of the Communist Party, but he felt that the Communist program had many good points and much to offer the United States.

When Analavage told Lawson that he was doing some work for the SCEF and "Southern Patriot," Lawson tersely reminded Analavage that he, Lawson, had had a lengthy discussion ostensibly by telephone on March 30, 1968, with Anne Braden, Associate Director of the SCEF in Louisville, Kentucky.

Information regarding Anne Braden and her husband, Carl Braden, is set forth in the attached characterization of SCEF.

Analavage had with him an associate, Kathy Jolly, a white female, short in stature, estimated to be 20-21 years of age, with long brown hair, wearing glasses, having keen features and medium build, who was doing a lot of his typing. She did not further identify herself.

Source one continued that Cabbage admitted that he, Charles Harrington who is also of the BOP group, and Calvin Leroy Taylor of the BOP group had had a lengthy discussion with Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., on Friday morning, March 29, 1968, in order to "state their position to him." He stated that BOP had no real grievances with King but that they did explain to King that they did not feel his presence was necessary and that they did complain that they, BOP, which is the over-all black power group in Memphis, were dissatisfied because the COME group would not bring them completely into the policy-making and planning actions with regard to the racial situation in Memphis.

FBI-Witners-1366

SANITATION WORKERS STRIKE
MEMPHIS, TENNESSEE

Source one stated that Cabbage is a self-acclaimed black power theoretician who is completely dedicated to the cause of black separatism rather than violence per se. He is not against violence and has often stated that violence will be necessary in order to unify the black people in this country. Source one continued that Cabbage has very definitely stated in recent conversations that if he can build up a sufficiently militant black power organization that he hopes then to convince leaders of the community, including anti-poverty organizations and possibly the Department of Health, Education and Welfare or some financial foundation, to financially back him and fund he and his group to set up an anti-poverty group on their own and that he would use the argument that only he and his followers would have the ear and confidence of militant black youths in the community and that if they were properly funded they could "keep the lid on"; in other words, prevent violence.

Source one feels, with all due consideration, that Cabbage is preaching black power for a purpose in that he wants to scare the community and thereby through a form of "verbal blackmail" "con" groups into funding his organization. Cabbage even used the figure of his salary ultimately being $12,000 a year.

Possible corroboration of some of the above information rests in the fact that on March 30, 1968, a third source advised a representative of the FBI that Charles Ballard, Charles Cabbage and John Burrell Smith spent the weekend of March 30-31, 1968, in the Lorraine Motel, 406 Mulberry, as they did not want the Memphis Police Department to know their whereabouts.

Information contained herein not received from the Memphis Police Department was furnished to the Inspectional Bureau, Memphis Police Department, and to 111th Military Intelligence Group, Third Army, Memphis, Tennessee.

FBI-Withers-1367

APPENDIX

SOUTHERN CONFERENCE EDUCATIONAL FUND, INC. (SCEF)

The Southern Conference for Human Welfare (SCHW) was cited as a Communist front by the House Committee on Un-American Activities, House Report 592, June 12, 1947. In the same house report, "The Southern Patriot," was cited as an "organ" of the SCHW.

An amendment to the charter of the SCHW dated April 26, 1946, changed its name to the Southern Conference Educational Fund, Incorporated (SCEF) and stated its purpose to be to improve the educational and cultural standards of the Southern people in accordance with the highest American democratic institutions, traditions and ideals.

The masthead of the April, 1967, issue of "The Southern Patriot," indicates that it is the publication of SCEF, editorial and business offices of which are located at 3210 West Broadway, Louisville, Kentucky, Eastern office of which is located at Suite 412, 799 Broadway, New York City, New York. "The Southern Patriot" is published once each month, except July. The SCEF is stated to be dedicated to ending discrimination based on race, creed, color, sex, national origin, or economic condition.

Carl Braden is identified as Executive Director of SCEF and Anne Braden as editor of "The Southern Patriot."

Mrs. Alberta Ahearn, 2311 Payne Street, Louisville, Kentucky, a self-admitted former member of the Communist Party (CP), Louisville, Kentucky, testified on December 11 and 13, 1954, in Jefferson County, Kentucky Criminal Court in a state sedition prosecution against Carl James Braden. She identified Carl Braden and his wife, Anne McCarty Braden, as having been known to her as members of the CP from January, 1951, to December, 1954.

The SCEF is self-described as having deep roots in the South where it began as the educational wing of the SCHW, organized in 1938 to work for economic and political reform. When the SCHW disbanded in the late 1940's, SCEF

SOUTHERN CONFERENCE EDUCATIONAL FUND, INC. (continued):

continued as an independent organization, rallying support for integration and democracy and helping to stimulate and nurture new movements of the early 1960's. The SCEF maintained headquarters in Louisiana for twenty years, but in 1966 moved its headquarters to Louisville, Kentucky.

A source advised on March 2, 1961, that Claude Lightfoot, a Communist Party functionary, stated at a meeting of the Communist Party in Baltimore, Maryland, on February 25, 1961, that the Communist Party is not connected with any progressive movement but indirectly they do have some influence in the SCEF.

A second source, who is familiar with some phases of Communist Party activity in the New Orleans area, advised on June 3, 1966, that during the time that the SCHW was in existence, members of the Communist Party were members of and worked actively in the SCHW; however, since the formation of the SCEF, Communist Party members have not been encouraged to work in the SCEF. The source stated that the SCEF is a progressive, liberal organization, which he considers a Communist Party front organization because it has gone along with the Communist Party on certain issues, particularly on the racial issue.

A third source advised on May 25, 1965, that George Meyers, a Communist Party functionary, expressed great admiration for Carl and Anne Braden and the SCEF, with which they are affiliated, and expressed the view that the SCEF is the best organization in the South as far as doing effective work is concerned and that they have a better idea of what they are doing, where they are heading, and influence other organizations for the better.

The second source also advised on June 3, 1966, that many people who are officials and supporters of the SCEF, while liberal in their views, are by no means Communists.

SANITATION WORKERS STRIKE,
MEMPHIS, TENNESSEE

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FD-36 (Rev. 12-13-56)

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Date: 4/2/68

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Via AIRTEL _____ (Priority or Method of Mailing)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI

FROM: SAC, MEMPHIS (157-1092) (P)

SANITATION WORKERS STRIKE,
MEMPHIS, TENNESSEE
RACIAL MATTERS
(OO: Memphis)

Re Memphis airtel and LHM dated 3/30/68.

Enclosed herewith for the Bureau are 11 copies of letterhead memorandum dated 4/2/68 and captioned as above. Enclosed for Atlanta are 3 copies, for Chicago 2 copies, for Jackson 2 copies, for Philadelphia 2 copies, for Louisville 2 copies, and for WFO 3 copies of above-described LHM.

LHM is also being disseminated locally to U. S. Attorney, Memphis, and Secret Service, Memphis, and to Regional Offices of Military Intelligence.

All paragraphs are unclassified unless marked to the contrary.
CLASSIFIED & EXTENDED BY SPA
REASON FOR EXTENSION: FCIM, H, 1 - 3, 4, 2
DATE OF REVIEW FOR DECLASSIFICATION 4/2/88

3 - Bureau (Encs.11) (RM)
3 - Atlanta (Encs.3)(RM)
(1 - SCLC)
(1 - MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.)
(1 - Washington Spring Project)
2 - Chicago (Encs.2)(RM)
(1 - SCLC)
(1 - [redacted])
2 - Jackson (Encs.2)(RM)
2 - Louisville (Encs.2)(RM)
(1 - SCEF)
(1 - [redacted])
2 - Philadelphia (Encs.2)(RM)
3 - WFO (Encs.3)(RM)
(1 - SCLC)
(1 - MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.)
(1 - Washington Spring Project)
14 - Memphis (COPIES LISTED PAGE 2)

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WHL:gmf (81)

170-70-Sub

Approved: _____ Sent _____ M Per _____
Special Agent in Charge

1- 170-70 Sub

ME 157-1092

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MEMPHIS COPIES (continued from page 1)

MEMPHIS

1 - 157-1092
1 - 157-556, Possible Racial Violence, Major Urban Areas)
1 - 157-109 (SNCC)
1 - 157-166 (SCLC)
1 - 100-4105 (MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.)
1 - 170-70 Sub K(ME 338-R) (U)
1 - 170-98 [redacted]
1 - 100-4528
1 - 170-1024
1 - 157-1070
1 - 157-957 (
1 - 157-1097 (Washington Spring Project)
1 -66-1687 Sub A, Dissemination)
1 - 100-92 (SCEF)

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Sources utilized in enclosed LHM are as follows:

Source one is [redacted] (U)

Source two is [redacted]

Source three is [redacted] who confidentially furnished information to SA HOWELL S. LOWE, [redacted] identity should be protected.

LEADS:

ATLANTA DIVISION

Will furnish to Memphis pertinent security or racial information regarding JOHN T. JOHNSON and JAMES ORANGE.

CHICAGO DIVISION

Will furnish Memphis with security or racial information of a pertinent nature concerning Rev. JESSE JACKSON, 366 East 47th Street, Chicago, Ill.

Memphis already has a characterization of JAMES BEVEL.

JACKSON DIVISION

Will furnish Memphis with any pertinent security or racial information regarding R. B. COTTONREADER, JR., 408 Third Street, Marks, Mississippi.

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FBI-Witners-1373

CONFIDENTIAL

PHILADELPHIA DIVISION

AT LANCASTER, PENNSYLVANIA

Will furnish Memphis with any security or racial information of pertinent nature regarding EMANUEL PATTERSON who circumstantially might be connected with the SCLC group.

LOUISVILLE DIVISION

Will furnish Memphis with any pertinent characterization of ROBERT ANALAVAGE, as well as KATHY JOLLY.

WASHINGTON FIELD DIVISION (INFORMATION)

Copies are being furnished WFO in view of the interest of that division in SCLC, MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR., and the Washington Spring Project.

MEMPHIS DIVISION

Will continue to follow and report pertinent information.

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SAC, MEMPHIS (157-1092) 4/2/68

SA WILLIAM H. LAWRENCE

SANITATION WORKERS STRIKE
MEMPHIS, TENN.
RM

Following the morning, 3/28/68, mass march led by Rev. MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR., which led to violence and from which KING fled when the trouble started, the following is noted:

The 10:00 p.m. news, night of 3/28/68, on Channel 5 - WMC - TV, carried a taped interview with Bishop JULIAN SMITH, CME Church, one of the most powerful Negro figures in Memphis. SMITH, without mentioning KING by name, commented that he wanted it to be known none of the Memphis Ministers abandoned the march when the trouble started; that they, including SMITH, concentrated their efforts in herding the marchers in a reverse direction back toward Clayborn Temple where it had originated.

On 3/29/68, [redacted] advised that Bishop JULIAN SMITH is one of the most brilliant and influential Negroes inMemphis. He holds some high position in connection with the National Council of Churches and , in fact, had been locked arm in arm with KING during a portion of the march. (U)

[redacted] feels that despite KING's hastily abandoning the march at the first sign of violence, the Memphis Ministers will not abandon him and will welcome him back because of his national prominence and prestige. They will all want to bask in the spotlight of attention shown him by the news media. (U)

(U)

1 - 157-1092
1 - 170-70-Sub (ME 338-R ghetto)
1 - 100-4105 (MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.)
1 - 157-166 (SCLC)

WHL:cjs
(4)

170-70-Sub

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SERIALIZED ..... FILED .....
FBI — MEMPHIS

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DATE: 07-27-2017

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to File No.

Memphis, Tennessee
March 30, 1968

RE: SANITATION WORKERS STRIKE
MEMPHIS, TENNESSEE
RACIAL MATTERS

Reference communication captioned as above made at Memphis, Tennessee, March 29, 1968.

On the morning of March 29, 1968, Henry Lux, Assistant Chief, Memphis, Tennessee, Police Department, advised that Rev. James Morris Lawson, Jr., male Negro, pastor of Centenary Methodist Church, Memphis, and one of the main leaders of the Community on the Move for Equality (COME), the Memphis Negro Ministerial Group leading the support of the sanitation workers, Memphis, Tennessee, who have been on strike since February 12, 1968, informed Lux that a downtown sympathy march for the strikers was planned for the afternoon of March 29, 1968.

Lawson stated that the march would be restricted to sanitation workers and adult sympathizers and that every effort would be made to eliminate the young element which created problems leading to window breaking, looting, and general vandalism which disrupted the massive march on March 28, 1968, led by Rev. Martin Luther King, Jr., President, Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC).

Later on the afternoon of March 29, 1968, Henry Lux advised that the march did take place running from Clayborn Temple, 280 Hernando, to the vicinity of the Memphis City Hall on Main Street with approximately 200 individuals participating. There were no incidents. The Memphis Police Department and representatives of the Tennessee National Guard who are still on duty in Memphis as a precautionary measure, guarded the entire parade area, the marchers remaining on the sidewalks and observing all

11-Bureau 3-AT 3-WFO 1-USA,Memphis 1-U.S. Secret Service, Memphis
1-G-2 1-111th INTC, Nashville 1-111th INTC, Memphis 1-NISO,Charleston
1-NISO,Memphis 1-OSI, Maxwell AFB
(11)-Memphis (157-1052)(157-856)(157-166)(100-4105)(157-1057)(170-70 Sub)
(100-4523)(100-4579)(157-1019)(170-93)(157-109)
WHL:mnr
(36)

Declassified by SP4
on 12/9/81

170-70-Sub

traffic restrictions. There were no arrests and no incidents. Lux pointed out that no permit is required for marches of any kind within the city of Memphis and that the Memphis municipal authorities are considering the possibility of passing an ordinance of this type.

Also, on March 29, 1968, Chief of Police James C. MacDonald of Memphis advised that there have been no serious troubles during March 29, 1968. He had instructed all of his officers to disperse small groups of youngsters in various sections of the city and that there were still sporadic outbursts of window breaking, minor looting, general vandalism, and the setting of trash fires. One squad car was fired on by unknown Negroes in the vicinity of Dison and Rile in south Memphis early on the morning of March 28, 1968, according to MacDonald, but the individuals firing the shots were not identified. He stated that throughout the day the Memphis Police Department received numerous calls of reported looting, vandalism, and fire settings and fire bombings, although investigation by representatives of the Memphis Police Department and the Memphis Fire Department indicated that most of these incidents were minor. He pointed out that the major damage in connection with the March 28, 1968, disturbance was confined to a three to four block area on Beale Street in downtown Memphis with store fronts being damaged and practically all of a three block area. He stated that liquor stores are still closed, that National Guardsmen are guarding the stores which have been looted and where windows have been broken, that the merchants are boarding up the fronts of most of these establishments to preclude further vandalism and looting and he feels that with the presence of the Tennessee National Guard, along with the assistance of the Shelby County Sheriff's Office and his department, that the situation is well in hand and that, with the exception of sporadic outbursts of vandalism, he does not anticipate any immediate trouble in Memphis.

On the night of March 29, 1968, Assistant Chief Henry Lux advised that there were approximately 33 additional arrests on March 29, 1968, by the Memphis Police Department on charges including miscellaneous looting, disorderly conduct, resisting arrest, and threatened breach of peace. He

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reported that in City Court, Division II, more than 200 persons charged in the past two days appeared before City Judge BERNIE Weinman on charges ranging from drunkenness to assault on police officers. Judge Weinman bound 40 defendants over to the state, dismissed 46 others, and continued the cases against 118 until later in the month of April, 1968. The largest bond was $5,000 set for Gordon L. Odom, Jr., of 336 South Parkway East on a charge of third degree burglary, this being set by City Judge Ray Churchill. Other bonds he set ranged from $250 to $2,000.

During the evening of March 29, 1968, the police received numerous calls of reported fire bombings, vandalism, and looting over a wide area primarily in the Negro neighborhoods but many of these proved to be unfounded on investigation. Lux advised that the curfew imposed by Mayor Henry Loeb on the night of March 28, 1968, continued on the night of March 29, 1968, but that it was a loose curfew in that any individual on the streets who had identifications would have nothing to worry about provided he could give a plausible explanation as to his purpose in being there. This meant that theatres, places of amusement, and restaurants and other functions normally operating at night would be uninterrupted. He stated that riot damage resulting from the March 28, 1968, window breaking and looting was estimated by insurance officials at approximately $400,000 not including the miscellaneous fires. He pointed out fortunately none of the fires were serious. This would not, of course, include losses due to interrupted business days because many office managers, store owners, government agencies, including Federal, state and county, dismissed their employees early both on March 28 and 29, 1968, in order to avoid trouble. He stated that the Memphis city buses were operating throughout March 29, 1968, but would stop around 7:00 P.M. and that in the near future it was anticipated that they would be operating of a full-time basis.

Lux advised that Tennessee National Guardsmen are bivouacked at the National Guard Armory on Central near the Mid-South Fairgrounds and on the military side of the Memphis Metropolitan Airport. He stated that there are approximately 4,000 troops from the west and middle Tennessee National Guard units on duty in Memphis. He had no knowledge as to when they would be pulled out, but predicted that they

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would at least remain in Memphis over the week end of March 30-31, 1968.

He pointed out that school absenteeism in the city school system in Memphis on March 29, 1968, was nearly 40,000 and that the largest number of truants were at the predominantly Negro high schools.

Lux stated that the only injury reported during the day was to Memphis Police Patrolman E. W. MAXWELL, whose finger was severely cut while he was arresting a drunk young Negro who was fighting with other officers on Polk Street north of Chelsea, which is in a predominantly Negro neighborhood. He stated that at about 1:15 P.M., officers arrested two white youths, namely Samuel R. Waddell, age 20 of 2581 Kallien, Larry Williams, age 20 of 1669 Combs. He stated that he had been informed that officers seized a .22 caliber rifle in Williams living room. He did not have the details of the arrest. He stated many of those arrested for looting were youngsters ranging from 8 to 12 years of age. These were being turned over to Memphis Juvenile Court.

The Memphis Commercial Appeal newspaper, Saturday morning issue, March 30, 1968, reported in detail concerning activities of Rev. Martin Luther King, Jr., on March 29, 1968, and stated in a story on page 1 by Reporter Thomas BeVier that King came to Memphis to star in what was billed as a "dress rehearsal" for his April 22, 1968, "Poor People's Crusade" on Washington, D. C. The story continued, "By his own non-violent standards, the rehearsal was a flop." The story stated that King in a press interview March 29, 1968, reported that he would be back in Memphis as early as April 3 and not later than April 5, 1968, for another mass march and was quoted as saying, "We are going to have a massive non-violent demonstration in Memphis." The story stated that the question being asked in Memphis, the nation, and the world is whether - with the increasing militancy of black youth - anyone can say with certainty that a non-violent demonstration will stay that way.

King stated in the interview, "I am convinced we can have a non-violent demonstration" but was reported as adding that it would be impossible to "guarantee" that

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there would not be any violence. The story stated that it was significant that King was more than a half hour late for his 11:30 A.M. press conference because he was meeting with three members of a Black Power group, which the paper referred to as "The Invaders." BeVier stated that these three young men refused to give their names and stated that they would give their own press conference at a later time.

The story continued that King was staying in a $29 a day room at the Holiday Inn Rivermont, also known as the Rivermont Hotel. King claimed to the newspaper that he did not realize when he came to Memphis that there were those in the Negro community who were "talking about violence." He stated, "We (SCLC) had no part in the planning of the march. Our intelligence was nil." He said that if he had known there were persons likely to start violence, he would have had them made parade marshals, a move which he said had been successful in other marches.

He was reported as being critical of the press for reporting that he left the march in haste after the trouble started on March 28, 1968. He claimed that he left calmly because he said, "I will not lead a violent march." He said that while he "walked" with aides to a car, he was "agonizing over what had happened." The story reported that Assistant Police Chief Henry Lux had earlier said over the police radio at approximately 11:27 A.M., Thursday, March 28, 1968, that the march was apparently without leadership as Dr. King had asked for a police escort away from the march a few minutes after the first report of violence during the march. King was reported in the story as saying he did not think the riot "will in any way affect" his Washington plans for his Poor People's Crusade to commence April 22, 1968. He said he is undecided as to how much of his SCLC staff he can spare to organize the next massive march in Memphis early in April 1968.

The story said that later in Washington, D. C., Rev. Andrew Young, Dr. King's top lieutenant, said that the main thrust of the Washington demonstration would be delayed for about two weeks and that steps would be taken to avoid violence and that a "symbolic delegation," including King would reach Washington on April 22, 1968. The story continued

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that King claimed that Thursday, March 28, 1968, march was "poorly planned" which the paper said amounts to criticism of Rev. James M. Lawson, Jr., whom Dr. King himself had called "the leading non-violence theoretician in the country." The paper reported that Lawson is in charge of the strategy for the Memphis Negro ministers, also known as COME, and is pastor of the Centenary Methodist Church and continued that Lawson did not entirely agree with King's assessments.

The story stated for instance that King had said that the Black Power advocates with whom he met earlier had said that there had been a lack of communication between them and the ministers and that they felt "rejected." Rev. Lawson was quoted by the paper as saying, "There has been communication. I don't accept that," referring to King's statement. The paper said that it was Rev. Lawson who had originally asked King to come to Memphis and that for about 10 years Lawson has served in an advisory capacity with SCLC. It stated that Lawson agreed with King that a non-violent demonstration is possible and pointed out that this was one of the reasons King was asked to come to Memphis. Lawson stated, "We didn't bring in Rap Brown (national chairman of the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee), we brought in King." He was reported to have further said that there were other reasons for bringing in King, one being to give the movement in Memphis a "national image" and another was to strengthen the leadership of the Memphis ministers.

The same March 30, 1968, issue of The Commercial Appeal newspaper had a lead editorial on page 6 entitled, "King's Credibility Gap," which stated that "Martin Luther King on the night of March 18, 1968, told an overflow crowd at Mason Temple: 'You know what? We may have to escalate this struggle a bit.' Dr. King then urged a total work stoppage in Memphis by Negroes 'in a few days' and called for all Negro public school students to cut classes at the same time. 'Try it and they will hear you,' said Dr. King. The escalation came Thursday when Dr. King led a supposedly non-violent protest march from Clayborn Temple to Beale Street, west on Beale to Main, and a block north on Main. He got what he asked - to an embarrassing extent. Negro students did play truant by the thousands and were joined by hundreds of other young Negroes in their 20's who turned the march into a riot and left Beale Street and a short section of Main in utter ruin. Photographs and eyewitness accounts identify those who did the destruction and the looting - the children and young people whom Dr. King had told to stay out of school. Having fled the melee, King later issued statements attempting to disassociate himself from the violence that he

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had instigated. The claim will not hold water. Dr. King's pose as leader of a non-violent movement has been shattered. He now has the entire nation doubting his word when he insists that his April project - a shanty-town sit-in in the nation's capital - can be peaceful. In short, Dr. King is suffering from one of those awesome credibility gaps. Furthermore, he wrecked his reputation as a leader as he took off at high speed when violence occurred, instead of trying to use his persuasive prestige to stop it.

"There are many other second thoughts about the Beale Street incident of Thursday. More and more it is evident that Memphis police were well prepared, alert and firm when firmness was vital. What might have spread into far reaches of the city was blocked within minutes.

"The city administration with the help of the legislature and Gov. Buford Ellington got a curfew law which effectively restored general calm and peace.

"As always, there is another side to the coin. Memphis Negroes do need broader participation in Memphis government, and better job opportunities in our city. The sanitation strike, which has been the takeoff point for trouble-making, must be settled soon.

"Mediation and conciliation in the strike have been attempted without significant results. Obstinacy and stubborn position-taking will not lead to a settlement. There must be give-and-take.

"It wouldhelp if the Negro church ministers who have more or less taken over the cause of the sanitation employes would get them back to work. Then mediation might be attempted in a more reasonable atmosphere.

"The city should shut no doors. It, too, must mediate, if the issue is to be settled without further damage to Memphis."

In connection with the above mentioned Commercial Appeal story with reference to "The Invaders," source 1 who is extremely close to the leadership of the Black Power movement in Memphis, advised that this group technically

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is known as the Black Organizing Project(BOP) and is affiliated with Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), which has national headquarters in Atlanta, Georgia. It is led by John Burrell Smith and Charles Cabbage.

In connection with another investigation conducted February 16, 1968, Charles L. Cabbage and John Burrell Smith introduced themselves to representatives of the FBI and introduced the governing body of the BOP organization as Charles Laverne Cabbage, 1924 Rile; John Burrell Smith, 1644 Hanauer, Apartment 2, Owen College student; Curtis Carter, LeMoyne College student, residence 377 E. McLemore; Charles Steven Ballard, 1830 Kansas Street, a student at Owen Junior College; Edwina Jeanetta Harrell, residence 2418 Gentry, Memphis State University student; Verdell Ronald Brooks, Owen College student, residence 1612 Ball Street; James Elmore Phillips, 1592 Short, student at LeMoyne College; Clinton Roy Jamerson, 1397 Davis Street; Charles Harrington, 2075 Rile, a student at Owen College; and they mentioned an additional person who was not present, namely Clifford Louis Taylor, 2507 Fontaine, Memphis.

Cabbage and John Smith advised that some of their followers wear the words "The Invaders" on their jackets and John Smith stated that he personally wears these words on his jacket but that this is merely a name which some of them have adopted and that it is all part of the BOP organization.

As recently as March 30, 1968, source 1 stated that many teenagers in Memphis have put the word "Invaders" on backs of their jackets, although they are not necessarily connected with the BOP organization. They do this more or less as a symbol of their self-professed affinity with Black Power. Source 1 pointed out therefore that the mere fact that one wears the word "Invaders" does not mean that he is a part of any organized movement, that the only known organized Black Power movement in Memphis is that of BOP headed by Cabbage and John B. Smith and the above mentioned governing body. He pointed that, for example, at LeMoyne College their group is known as BOP, at Owen College it is known as the Afro-American Brotherhood and at Memphis State University, which has approximately 1500 Negro students, it is known as the Black Student Association (BSA).

SANITATION WORKERS STRIKE
MEMPHIS, TENNESSEE

Source 1 was not certain as to the 3 individuals who met with King but believes that they were Charles L. Cabbage, Charles Harrington, and a young male Negro in his early twenties, light skinned, with a "dog type" face, clean features, Afro hairdo, about 5'9" to 5'10" tall, slender, and who had introduced himself earlier in the summer of 1967 as Miller. These 3 shortly prior to the time that King interviewed Black Power people had attempted to gain an audience but Dr. H. Ralph Jackson, head of the Minimum Salary Division of the African Methodist Episcopal Church, A.M.E. Church, 274 Hernando, next door to Clayborn Temple, 280 Hernando, which has been the headquarters of the strike supporters since February 12, 1968. Cabbage was insistent on seeing Ralph Jackson and that Jackson's assistant, a Rev. Johnson, refused to allow him to see Jackson stating that Jackson was completely "fed up" with Cabbage and his Black Power associates, that Jackson originally had attempted to have rapport and communication with them and had even offered to get them financial support out of New York City but that after the ruckus started on March 28, 1968, Cabbage, John B. Smith, and their associates came back to the temple after the ministers had attempted to get the marchers to return and virtually took over the temple, took over the microphone, and would not cease and dismiss when some of the ministers asked them to do so.

Therefore, Jackson's assistant Rev. Johnson, who lives at 5183 Horn Lake Road, refused to take them to see Dr. Jackson.

Source 1 pointed out that since around March 1, 1968, the BOP group headed by Cabbage and Smith has been in close contact with the sanitation strike and had been working in cooperation with the COME group that Rev. Lawson and Dr. Jackson, the two prime leaders of the COME group, have allowed them to attend strategy meetings and have met with them on numerous occasions. In fact, source 1 pointed out it is significant that a mass strike support meeting was held at Clayborn Temple, 280 Hernando on the night of March 5, 1968, attended by some 500 to 600 individuals and that one of the main speakers and masters of ceremony was Rev. James Morris Lawson, Jr., and at this mass meeting Charles Laverne Cabbage and some 30 to 40 of his purported followers were openly and with the consent of the ministers

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in charge of the meeting, passing out a 5 page mimeographed pamphlet entitled, "Afro-American Brotherhood Speaks, Black Thesis, Black Power!!" which eulogized H. Rap Brown, national chairman of SNCC. A portion of this document stated that the civil rights tactics of 1963 are not sufficient in the form of pressure on political structures and in dealing with what it referred to as extreme violent reaction of city powers in this community. It claimed that the so-called self-appointed part-time civil rights and part-time preachers inevitably "quit the struggle too soon." It said that "civil disobedience implies an entirely new set of priorities and responsibilities of which the current Negro leadership could no longer accept." It claimed that the current strike support movement in Memphis had turned into a big revival with the preachers having the followers so busy singing, praying, and marching that they do not do anything about the real issues. Itasked the question, "Why has the community let the preachers take over and try to lead in a fight which? There must be some real fighting. We all know the preachers can't fight or won't fight." It then printed a letter dated March 21, 1968, from Parish Prison, New Orleans, Louisiana, from H. Rap Brown in which he said,"We must move from resistance to aggression, from revolt to revolution. For every Orangeburg there must be 10 Detroits. For every Max Stanford and Huey Newton, there must be 10 dead racist cops. And for every black death there must be a Dien Bien Phu." It continued, "Aggression is the order of the day" and concluded "America: If it takes my death to organize my people against you, and to organize your jails to revolt against you and God, your poor, your country, and to organize mankind to rejoice in your destruction and ruin, then here is my life!"

Following this was a detailed drawing captioned "Molotov cocktail" showing in detail how a Molotov cocktail can be made by inserting a plain rag into the neck of a bottle which contains gasoline with a base of dirt or washing powder. Source 1 pointed out that none of the ministers present at this meeting made any effort whatsoever to restrain Cabbage and his followers from distributing this material nor did any of them make any statements to the audience that they should ignore such material.

On March 30, 1968, a second source advised that he had reliably learned that the 3 so-called "Invaders" who were reported in the Commercial Appeal as having

had an audience with Martin Luther King, Jr., on the morning of March 29, 1968, were the hereinbefore identified Charles Laverne Cabbage, the hereinbefore identified Charles Harrington, and Calvin Leroy Taylor, a male Negrowho resides at 347 West Waldorf and who is a senior at Memphis State University. Taylor works part-time as a copy boy at the Commercial Appeal newspaper. Taylor [redacted] part of the BOP group, which is affiliated with SNCC and that he has been serving as a liaison representative of BOP with the COME group, with the Negro ministerial group, which is coordinating the strike support. Taylor further stated that when Harrington, Cabbage, and Taylor had an audience with King that their purpose in seeing King was to tell King that they wanted more of the "action" in Memphis feeling that they were not getting enough of the action. Taylor refused to elaborate but [redacted] conjectured that by this Taylor meant that the Black Power group wanted more of a position of leadership and more policy making position in the over-all Negro movement in Memphis.

Source 2 also advised that the newsmen in Memphis and other officials will interchangeably use the word "Invaders" when they are actually referring to BOP and pointed out that it had been ascertained that actually the Black Power movement in Memphis uses several names, such as Afro-American Brotherhood, Black Student Association, BOP, and Invaders and that [redacted] there are only about 12 to 15 hard-core BOP people in Memphis and that the others are merely followers or people who tend to imitate them. Source 2 also stated that he had reliably learned from several individuals who in the March 28, 1968, march when the trouble began, that the actual BOP people did not participate in any of the vandalism or looting although prior to the meeting several of them, exact identities not known to source 2, had been agitating the young high school age Negroes who were preparing to participate in the march by indicating that there should be trouble and that Memphis was not worth saving and that it should burn, and other inflammatory utterances to this effect.

On the afternoon of March 29, 1968, a third source advised that Rev. Martin Luther King, Jr., President, SCLC, Bernard Lee, Special Aide to King, and Rev. Ralph D. Abernathy, Vice President at Large, SCLC, all departed Memphis, Tennessee, aboard an Eastern Airlines flight 398

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at 3:20 P.M. CST, March 29, 1968, their destination being Atlanta, Georgia. This source stated that to the best of his knowledge they went directly from the Rivermont Hotel to the Memphis Metropolitan Airport.

Source 1 on March 30, 1968, recalled that Rev. Martin Luther King, Jr., obviously would have been aware of the presence of a militant Black Power group in Memphis and based this opinion on the following information:

King in his March 18, 1968, speech before the strike supporters at Mason Temple had urged all high school students to remain away from school to participate in the massive march which he planned to lead in the future and urged all workers in Memphis to stay away from their jobs and march and at no time did he call for a completely non-violent march. Source further recalled that James Bevel, who for several years has been on King's staff and who was last known by source 1 to have the title of "in charge of non-violent action" was in Memphis with King's party on March 18, 1968, and remained in Memphis until at least March 20, 1968. Source 1 recalled that on March 20, 1968, Bevel along with Rev. Harold Middlebrook of 257 Walker, a former member of King's staff in Atlanta and now a resident of Memphis and one of the leaders of the COME group appeared at LeMoyne College, a Negro institution of some 600 students in Memphis, being brought there by James Phillips and Clinton Roy Jamerson, members of the governing body of BOP. There Bevel and Middlebrook met with various LeMoyne students at the student center at noon on March 20, 1968, meeting with approximately 75 to 100 students. Bevel was the main speaker and gave what informant described as a virulent Black Power talk claiming that the white power structure through economic pressure will eventually attempt to exterminate the Negro in the United States in some form of genocide and pointed out that the United States in its foreign aid program has proven that it is a white supremacist country in that it gives more to white nations in the form of foreign than it does to black countries such as those making up the continent of Africa. Bevel further claimed, according to source 1, that while Negroes or black men as he referred to them welcome the support given by the white clergy and white "do-gooders" that these whites are not really sincere as they have no "real soul feeling" toward the Negro and he suggested that his listeners read several Black Revolutionary books, and particularly urged them to read the book entitled, "The Wretched of the Earth" by Frantz Fanon, which informant

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described as a bible to revolutionary and militant Negro activities.

Source 1 stated that he personally knew that John B. Smith of BOP, along with Charles Harrington and Verdell Brooks of BOP and a new supporter of the group, one Milton Mack and another BOP member Samuel Carter, were all present with Middlebrook and Bevel at this meeting. Bevel urged all of these listeners to actively participate in the future scheduled march to be led by Rev. Martin Luther King, Jr. Furthermore, at this meeting John B. Smith and his followers stated that they were canvassing all of the Negro high schools with leaflets urging a mass walkout at the schools and urging that these walking students participate in the sanitation workers sympathy march to be led by King. On leaving LeMoyne Middlebrook and Bevel stated that they also planned to canvass Memphis State University, Southwestern College, Christian Brothers College, and Owen Junior College, all institutions of higher learning in Memphis, Tennessee, in order to solicit support, not only for their organization but also for the proposed mass march to be led by King. John B. Smith bragged to Bevel that his BOP group had also organized at most of the colleges in Memphis.

Source 1 recalled also that Bevel at the LeMoyne meeting urged the students to read "Muhammad Speaks," official newspaper of the Nation of Islam (NOI), headed in Chicago, Illinois, by Elijah Muhammad, pointing out that much of Muhammad's program fits his concept of Black Power philosophy with the exception of the religious aspect whereby Muhammad claimed Allah as his god. He told students to ignore the religious aspects and merely follow the economic and political aspects propounded in Muhammad's program. Bevel also bragged that within the next year he hopes to form a new nationwide Black Power organization in the United States which would supersede SNCC and would take in the remnants of the varied uncoordinated Black Power groups now existing in the United States and wanted to build a united black front effort having tentacles in all major communities in the United States. Source 1 pointed out that Bevel, will an ordained minister, was extremely vulgar and obscene in his talk and shocked some of the women who were present resulting in some of the women leaving the meeting.

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SANITATION WORKERS STRIKE
MEMPHIS, TENNESSEE

Source 1 pointed out that Middlebrook definitely is very close to the SCLC, Bevel, and Rev. Martin Luther King, Jr. He stated that Bevel is a most effective speaker particularly with regard to influencing young people and that in his talk he preyed on their feelings of avarice and envy claiming that the white man would purposely not allow them to have enough of the economic goods of this country and that the black man must learn to assume power, to control property, and to control raw materials and to utilize his talents.

JAMES BEVEL

Bevel, in early March 1966 was observed to be present at the offices of the Westside W.E.B. DuBois Club in Chicago (DCA). Discussion took place at this time centering around reaction to a recent notification that the Attorney General of the United States intended to label the DuBois Club as a communist front. Bevel, in conversation, stated that he would have ignored this notification and kept about the work in which he was engaged. He felt that if the DuBois Clubs have a real program of help for the people, then the people would answer for the clubs despite any labels appied to them.

Most present agreed that the attack on the DuBois Clubs was a part of the plan by the "establishment" to undermine the civil rights movement. They felt that the recent hearings into Klan activities in this country were only a beginning which would lead to a full scale attack on the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC), the real target. One of those present stated during the course of this discussion that he was not a communist, and to this Bevel was overheard to reply that every thinking American should be. Bevel stated that Negroes have not begun to read yet, but when they do, they will be socialists.

(Source 4, 3/66)

(A characterization of the W.E.B. DuBois Clubs of America and the Nation of Islam are set forth in the appendix section of this communication)

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SANITATION WORKERS STRIKE
MEMPHIS, TENNESSEE

The foregoing information was furnished orally to a representative of the Inspectional Bureau of the Memphis, Tennessee, Police Department and to a representative of the Intelligence Corps, Third Army, both Memphis, Tennessee, on March 30, 1968.

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

FBI-Withers-1390

FD-36 (Rev. 12-13-56)

FBI

Date: 3/30/68

CONFIDENTIAL

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plain text or code)

Via AIRTEL _____
(Priority or Method of Mailing)

DECLASSIFICATION AUTHORITY DERIVED FROM:
FBI AUTOMATIC DECLASSIFICATION GUIDE
DATE 08-26-2012

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI

FROM: SAC, MEMPHIS (157-1092) (P)

SUBJECT: SANITATION WORKERS STRIKE
MEMPHIS, TENNESSEE
PM

Re Memphis airtel and LHM dated 3/29/68,

Enclosed herewith for the Bureau are 11 copies, for WFO 3 copies, and for Atlanta 3 copies of LHM captioned as above and dated 3/30/68. Copies are being furnished to regional offices of military intelligence.

Information in LHM was furnished to WILLIAM BRAY, 111th INTC, 3rd Army, Memphis, and Lt. GEORGE FEATHERS, Inspectional Bureau, Memphis, Tenn., PD.

CLASSIFIED & EXTENDED BY SP4
REASON FOR EXTENSION: FCIM, II, 1-2, 4, 2
DATE OF REVIEW FOR DECLASSIFICATION 3/30/88

3 - Bureau (Encs 11) (RM)
3 - Atlanta (Encs 3) (RM)(Info)
(1-SCLC)(1-MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.)(1-Washington Spring Project)
3 - WFO (Encs 3) (RM)(Info)
(1-SCLC)(1-MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.)(1-Washington Spring Project)
12 - Memphis (1 - 157-1092)
(1 - 157-556)(Possible Racial Violence, Major Urban Areas)
(1 - 157-166)(Southern Christian Leadership Conference)
(1 - 100-4105)(MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.)
(1 - 157-1097)(Washington Spring Project)
(1 - 170-70 Sub)(ME 338-R Ghetto)
(1 - 100-4528)
(1 - 100-4579)
(1 - 157-1019)
(1 - 170-98)
(1 - 157-109)(SNCC)
(1 - 66-1687 Sub)(Dissemination File)

WHL:mnr
(21)

All paragraphs are unclassified unless marked to the contrary.

Approved: R G Jensen
Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____ M

170-70-Sub-

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FBI-Withers-1391

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Source 1 is [redacted]

Source 2 is [redacted]
(requested identity be protected)

Source 3 is [redacted]

b6-2
b7c-2
b3 1,2,4

Source 4 is [redacted] (characterization of JAMES L. BEVEL)

LEADS:

ATLANTA AND WFO DIVISIONS (INFO)

Information copies are submitted in view of these offices' interest in MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR., SCLC, and the Washington Spring Project.

FBI-Withers-1392

CONFIDENTIAL

DECLASSIFICATION AUTHORITY DERIVED FROM
FBI AUTOMATIC DECLASSIFICATION GUIDE
DATE 02 27 2012

OPTIONAL FORM NO. 10
MAY 1962 EDITION
GSA GEN. REG. NO. 27

5010-106

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : SAC (157-1092)

DATE: 4/2/68

FROM : SA WILLIAM H. LAWRENCE

SUBJECT: SANITATION WORKERS STRIKE
MEMPHIS, TENN.
RM

On the night of 3/28/68 [redacted] orally advised SA WILLIAM H. LAWRENCE as follows:

With regard to the incipient riot on the morning of 3/28/68 growing out of the mass downtown march in support of sanitation workers, led by MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR., it is now most certain that none of the BOP (Black Organizing Power) group did any of the window breaking or looting.

The looting was primarily done by a group of Negro teenage youngsters and young adults who have a thievery and criminal background.

Different reliable sources have told [redacted] that some of the looters on Beale Street were:

ROBERT "DOONY" LYLES and brother, BARY LYLES (Both live on Alcy Road between Peeples Road and Brooks);

CHARLES MOORE and brother OTIS MOORE, THOMAS LAWRENCE (Latter three live in the Walker Homes area).

1-157-1092
2-157-109 - SNCC
1-157-556 - Possible Racial Violence Major Urban Areas
1-170-70-Sub - ME 338-R (Ghetto)
1-157-1070 - [redacted]
1-100-4528 -
1-157-4575-
1-157-1000 -
1-157-1038 -
1-66-1687-SubA - Dissemination File
1-157-957 - [redacted]
WHL:wp
(12)

170-70-Sub [redacted]
SEARCHED ____ INDEXED ____
SERIALIZED ____ FILED ____
APR 3 1968
FBI — MEMPHIS

The march was late in starting. Many marchers had hung around Clayborn Temple for two to three hours waiting for it to start. They became restless. Many were teenagers. Rumors were rampant that police had killed a Hamilton High School student in an early morning uprising at that school.

MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR., came late, arriving there about 11:00 a.m. He started off at Linden and Hernando and locked arms in front of the march with Bishop JULIAN SMITH of CME Church. There were too few and untrained parade marshals.

One definite contributing factor to the violence was the fact that the Community on the Move for Equality (COME) group for the first time in any of their daily marches furnished wooden sticks to the marchers. They obtained hundreds of hard pine sticks on which cardboard placards were placed. These became lethal weapons.

(FNU) HARVEY, brother of FRED HARVEY, and who is a teacher at Jeter High School, earlier in the week [redacted] rent a Skil saw which was taken to the Minimum Salary Office of AME Church next to Clayborn Temple, where J. C. BROWN cut the pine wood into four-foot lengths for the placards.

The youngsters in the march almost immediately ripped off the cardboard and used the sticks as batons and weapons. They used them to break windows and to fight the police.

JOHN B. SMITH, JAMES ELMORE PHILLIPS, SAMUEL CARTER, all of BOP, were giving out sticks to teenage youngsters prior to the march. Informant heard JOHN B. SMITH tell some of the youngsters, "Don't be afraid to use these sticks if you have to."

Also prior to the march, BOP leader EDWINA JEANETTA HARRELL was drinking Robetessen, a cough medicine, about 18 per cent alcohol. She and other BOP members drink it. They get high on it and call it "going for a boat ride."

Informant estimated that only one per cent of the estimated 5,000 to 6,000 marchers engaged in breaking, looting, and vandalism.

He said the Catholic Church has moved into the strike support activity but that the vast majority of Negroes distrust and have little faith in the Catholic Church, feeling it to be too paternalistic.

CLIFFORD LOUIS TAYLOR, self-admitted BOP leader, [redacted]. He engaged in none of the activity and said nothing about his recent activities. [redacted]

[redacted] a little Puerto Rican looking Negro who hangs out in the Beale Street area may have broken one of the first windows which started the incipient riot. He had on a loud green pair of pants or shirt on 3/28/68.

Later on the evening of 3/28/68 informant saw EDWINA JEANETTA HARRELL, CHARLES HARRINGTON, and JOHN B. SMITH in the 1966 blue Mustang, believed to be the one formerly driven by CHARLES L. CABBAGE in the fall of 1967. It now bears Tennessee (Shelby County) license BF 3750. They were at Person and Kansas. [redacted]

The above information was immediately furnished to Lt. E. H. ARKIN, Inspectional Bureau, Memphis PD.

FBI Withers 1395

DECLASSIFICATION AUTHORITY DERIVED FROM
FBI AUTOMATIC DECLASSIFICATION GUIDE

OPTIONAL FORM NO. 10
MAY 1962 EDITION
GSA GEN. REG. NO. 27
5010-101

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : SAC (100-4140) DATE: 4/1/68

FROM : SA WILLIAM H. LAWRENCE

SUBJECT: INVESTIGATION OF STUDENT GROUPS
COLLEGE CAMPUSES

On 3/21/68 [redacted] phoned SA WILLIAM H. LAWRENCE to volunteer the following information:

COBY VERNON SMITH, Negro male student at Southwestern, who has been such a prior problem to Southwestern officials, has been quiet as the proverbial "church mouse." He has brought his grades up to the point where he is now off academic probation.

He told [redacted] some time ago that the draft would not get him as he had high blood pressure.

On 3/20/68 [redacted] advised SA's HOWELL S. LOWE and WILLIAM H. LAWRENCE that in all of his recent close association with all known leaders of BOP (the SNCC oriented Black Power movement in Memphis), including its leaders, CHARLES CABBAGE, JOHN B. SMITH, CHARLES BALLARD, and EDWINA HARRELL, they no longer mention

1-100-4140
1-100-4394 - [redacted]
1-157-1092 - Sanitation Workers Strike, Memphis, Tenn.
1-100-4409 - [redacted]
1-100-4432 -
1-100-4483 -
1-100-4046 - SSOC
1-170-70-Sub - ME 338-R (Ghetto)
1-100-4399 - [redacted]
1-100-2272 - National Student Association
WHL:wp
(10)

170-70-Sub [redacted]

APR 3 1968
MEMPHIS

COBY SMITH. He stated further that on at least three recent occasions informant has seen COBY SMITH and another Southwestern male Negro student, LORENZO CHILDRESS, at the "Big M," a local Negro night spot, and COBY has given no indication of being active in the Black Power movement.

On 3/21/68 [redacted] said that there has been no evidence of any SSOC activity at Southwestern since the 10/18/67 Vietnam Forum participated in by TOM GARDNER, SSOC Chairman, and NANCY J. HODES, and BRUCE SMITH, all from Nashville.

In fact, one of the former more avid SSOC supporters on the campus, CHARLES BARRETT REED, aka Barre Reed, withdrew from school in the first semester, fall 1967.

Another strong supporter, ROBERT ORR, has been awfully quiet, apparently due to a romance with KATHI HEYMANN, an MSU student. [redacted] has heard they are married or at least plan to marry.

[redacted] added that about 20 to 25 male and female students at Southwestern have shown considerable support for the striking Memphis sanitation workers and many have participated in some of the downtown marches in support of the strike.

He added that with a very few exceptions, the student body is basically conservative in its outlook. For example, he pointed out that while Southwestern student body belongs to the National Student Association (NSA), it has rejected the current extremist, virtually disruptive program of NSA.

DECLASSIFICATION AUTHORITY DERIVED FROM:
FBI AUTOMATIC DECLASSIFICATION GUIDE
DATE 02-27-2012

SAC (157-1092) 4/3/68

SA WILLIAM H. LAWRENCE

SANITATION WORKERS STRIKE,
MEMPHIS, TENN.
RM

On 3/18/68 [redacted] furnished SAs HOWELL S. LOWE and WILLIAM H. LAWRENCE Vol. I, # 1, of an independent publication known as COME Appeal, Memphis, Tenn., which is a four-page tabloid issued by the Community on the Move for Equality, which is the Negro ministerial group supporting the current Memphis sanitation strike. This issue contains photographs of Rev. JAMES LAWSON, Dr. H. RALPH JACKSON, BAXTON BRYANT, Rev. M. D. BLACKBURN, Rev. M. PEACE, Mr. and Mrs. TAYLOR BLAIR, Rev. L. R. DAWSON and Rev. WILLIAM SMITH, and Miss CORNELIA CRENSHAW, all leaders in the strike support movement.

Page 4 has a photograph of Rev. H. L. STARKS, whose name in the paper is listed as STOCKS, which is a typographical error.

Informant pointed out that the paper is printed or laid out by Rev. MALCOLM D. BLACKBURN, who in addition to being pastor of the Clayborn AME Temple, 280 Hernando, is also by his own admission a journeyman printer. The main editorial work therein is done by Rev. JAMES M. LAWSON JR.

1 - 157-1092
1 - 170-70-Sub, ME 338-R(Ghetto)
WHLF
(2)

170-70-Sub
SEARCHED
SERIALIZED
APR - 3 1968
FBI — MEMP

DECLASSIFICATION AUTHORITY DERIVED FROM:
FBI AUTOMATIC DECLASSIFICATION GUIDE
DATE 02 27 2022

CONFIDENTIAL

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT
M E M O R A N D U M

TO: SAC, MEMPHIS (157-109) DATE: 4/2/68

FROM: SA WILLIAM H. LAWRENCE

SUBJECT: COMINFIL OF SNCC
IS - SNCC; RM

(U) During the a.m. of 3/30/68, [redacted] advised SA WILLIAM H. LAWRENCE as follows:

On the morning of Friday, 3/29/68, about 10:30 a.m., CHARLES HARRINGTON, CHARLES L. CABBAGE, and CALVIN LEROY TAYLOR, all of the SNCC-BPO Black Power Group, were at the AME Minimum Salary Office, 276 Hernando, in an effort to see Dr. H. RALPH JACKSON, head of the office and one of the (U) ministerial leaders in the Community on the Move for Equality (COME). TAYLOR is the same individual who in the summer of 1967 was helping COBY VERNON SMITH and CHARLES L. CABBAGE organize SNCC.At that time he indicated his name was MILLER. He then drove a dark blue Mustang.

On 3/29/68, this trio had a light green Volkswagen possibly bearing Colorado license. The trio was trying to get (U) Rev. E. M. JOHNSON of the AME Church, Assistant to JACKSON, to permit them to see JACKSON, who was on the third floor. JOHNSON refused, telling them that JACKSON was disgusted with them, as

2 - 157-109 (SNCC)
1 - 170-70-SUB (ME 338-R ghetto) (U)
1 - 157-957 [redacted]
1 - 100-4579
1 - 157-1092 (SANITATION WORKERS STRIKE, MEMPHIS, TENN.)
1 - 157-556 (POSSIBLE RACIAL VIOLENCE, MAJOR URBAN AREAS)
1 - 157-1019 [redacted]
1 - 157-4566
1 - 100-4528
1 - 170-1024
2 - 157-NEW
1 - 157-
1 - 100-4105 (MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.)
1 - 157-166 (SCLC)
1 - 66-1687-SUB (DISSEMINATION)
WHL:cjs

170-70-Sub-
SEARCHED
SERIALIZED
APR - 2 1968
FBI — MEMP.

CLASSIFIED (UNLESS EXTENDED) BY SPJ
REASON FOR EXTENSION FCIM, II, 1-2, 4, 2
DATE OF REVIEW FOR DECLASSIFICATION 4/2/88

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All paragraphs are unclassified unless marked to the contrary.

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the Black Power group had "taken over" Clayborn Temple this A.M., 3/28/68, after the near race riot on Beale Street and when the non-rioting marchers returned to Clayborn Temple, and they would not disperse and desist when the COME leaders asked them to do so; that JACKSON had originally told CABBAGE that he would get him some money and backing for his BOP group if they would keep it non-violent but it now appeared he did not want to keep it peaceful. (U)

TAYLOR was noted to be about 5'9" - 5'10" tall, slender, light brown mustard skin, terrier dog type face, high hair, smooth clean-cut complexion. TAYLOR was driving the Volkswagen. (U)

JACKSON [redacted] obviously was provoked with them and indicated in his remarks that they had helped provoke the fighting at Hamilton High School prior to the 3/28/68 mass march which resulted in violence and lotting. (U)

Later, HARRINGTON commented that HARRINGTON, CABBAGE and TAYLOR had gone to the Rivermont after leaving JACKSON's office, where they had a conference with SCLC's MARTIN LUTHER KING. (U)

[redacted]

Also, on 3/29/68, HARRINGTON and CHARLES S. BALLARD, also BOP leader, [redacted] say that the Memphis PD had earlier on 3/29/68 arrested JOHN B. SMITH, BOP leader, and they were concerned that the PD would pick all of them up. (U)

Informant recalled that within the past few days, JOHN B.SMITH and CABBAGE have recently been saying "The preachers aren't going to do anything - we're going to have to do it" and "They're cowardly". (U)

On 3/30/68, [redacted] confidentially (protect) identity) advised SA WILLIAM H. LAWRENCE as follows:

CONFIDENTIAL

It was CHARLES L. CABBAGE, CHARLES HARRINGTON, and CALVIN LEROY TAYLOR who had a conference with MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR., President of SCLC, in room 801, Rivermont Hotel, Memphis, Tennessee, around 11:00 to 11:30 a.m., Friday, 3/29/68. This group was referred to as "Invaders" in a 3/30/68 story in the Memphis Commercial Appeal Newspaper by reporter TOM DeBEVIER. Invaders is a name the paper uses inrefeffing to the Black Power clique in Memphis since some of them such as JOHN BURRELL SMITH and CALVIN LEROY TAYLOR have "Invaders" on the back of their jackets; that CALVIN LEROY TAYLOR, MN, of 347 West Waldorf, a student at Memphis State University and copy boy at the Commercial Appeal, has, by his own admission, been serving as an intermediary between JOHN BURRELL SMITH, CHARLES L. CABBAGE, and the COME Negro ministerial group leading the Sanitation Workers Strike support. TAYLOR says the local Black Power group is called Black Organizing Power (BOP) but is actually SNCC; that HARRINGTON, CABBAGE, and TAYLOR spent about one-half hour in closed conference with KING during which they complained they were not getting enough of the "action" in the current racial struggle in Memphis and they demanded and wanted more of the "action". TAYLOR refused to elaborate and did not say what KING's attitudes or commitments or promises had been other than to say KING claimed there was no real contact between the Black Power group and the Negro ministerial leaders, no real rapport.

TAYLOR readily admitted that the BOP group had issued a mimeographed document, which they had distributed at a COME meeting at Clayborn Temple, 280 Hernando, 3/5/68, when Rev. JAMES MORRIS LAWSON, JR., headed the meeting. This document had a vicious letter from H. RAP BROWN, National Chairman of SNCC, dedicating himself to the destruction of the United States. The last page contained a detailed drawing showing in detail how to make a molotov cocktail. TAYLOR said the BOP group had obtained the original of this drawing from MURRAY AUSTIN ERVIN, Northside High School senior, who is President of the Student Body and who, he said, is a brilliant student and brilliant leader. ERVIN, he claimed, can lead both Negroes and whites at Northside and has become one of the most militant Black Power advocates in Memphis and, according to TAYLOR, is almost a fanatic.

The above source recalled that ERVIN is the same young man who along with another North Side student, ALEX JOHNSON, led a walk out at North Side on 3/11/68 after being encouraged by Rev. HAROLD H. MIDDLEBROOK of COME to do so.

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CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

ME 157-109

RECOMMENDATION:

[redacted]

(Note above information was furnished to Lt. E. H. ARKIN, Inspectional Bureau, Memphis Police Department, 3/30/68 by SA WILLIAM H. LAWRENCE.)

It is further recommended that [redacted] (FNU) MILLER) [redacted] re CALVIN LEROY TAYLOR [redacted] has been shown in instant memo that they are one and the same.

CONFIDENTIAL

FBI-Withers-1402

DECLASSIFICATION AUTHORITY DERIVED FROM:
FBI AUTOMATIC DECLASSIFICATION GUIDE
DATE 02-27-2012

SAC, Memphis (44-1987) 4/4/68

SA WILLIAM H. LAWRENCE

UNKNOWN SUBJECT;
MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR. - VICTIM
CIVIL RIGHTS

OO: Memphis

[redacted] At approximately 10:15 PM the night of April 4, 1968, [redacted] called the writer, SA WILLIAM H. LAWRENCE, and stated he hesitated to furnish the name of the following suspect but due to the nature of the crime felt constrained to do so. [redacted] He explained that on April 3, 1968, HAYS [redacted] insisted on being informed as to the Memphis residence of MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR., which at the time was the Lorraine Motel, 406 Mulberry. [redacted] had no time to talk with HAYS, although HAYS talked at length with [redacted]

HAYS has recently been driving a late model white automobile, make and model unknown, and was last known to be living in a little white clapboard house just east of North Watkins, one or two blocks south of Jackson Avenue (this would probably be Faxon or Tutwiler). He lives with an older woman who is his landlady and has a private room in the front of the house.

Informant recalled that HAYS is a schizophrenic and has been in and out of mental institutions in West Tennessee for

2 - MK 44-1987
1 - ME 170-70-Sub (MK 338-R) (Ghetto)
1 - ME 157-1092 (Sanitation Workers Strike, Memphis, Tenn.)
1 - ME 170-831 [redacted]
WHL:ME
(5)

FBI-Withers-1097

170-70-Sub
SEARCHED ..... INDEXED .....
SERIALIZED ..... FILED .....
APR 1 1968
FBI — MEMPHIS

several years. While HAYS is not known to be anti-Negro, due to his mental quirks and due to the fact he has been a private detective for years, engaging in all types of nefarious and questionable schemes, informant feels that HAYS would be capable of an assassination either through personal compulsion or for hire. He stated that of particular significance is the fact that HAYS is an avid student of all facets surrounding the assassination of the late President JOHN F. KENNEDY, having read numerous books and writings relative thereto, and can espound for hours on all possible ramifications of that assassination.

[redacted] HAYS as recently as 1966 attempted to join the Haywood, Tennessee Klavern, United Klans of America, [redacted] the KKK, which at that time was aiming much of its harrassment activities against the Project people.

[redacted] At that time HAYS seemed to have a considerable knowledge of firearms [redacted]

[redacted] At that time he was described as 6 ft. tall, weighed 185 lbs., born December 26, 1927, Crawfordsville, Arkansas, brown eyes, black hair, medium complexion.

[redacted]

At that time he was described as 6 ft. 1", 191 lbs. His father is R. W. RENFRO (deceased); mother, CORA HAYS, Norman St., Memphis, Tenn. He has fingerprint classification:

12	17	W	MII	16
	25	U	IOO	14

FBI-Withers-1098

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to File No.

Memphis, Tennessee

April 5, 1968

DECLASSIFICATION AUTHORITY DERIVED FROM
FBI AUTOMATIC DECLASSIFICATION GUIDE
DATE 02-27-2012

Re: SANITATION WORKERS STRIKE,
MEMPHIS, TENNESSEE
RACIAL MATTERS

On April 3, 1968, a first source advised that a strategy meeting was held on the night of April 2 and early April 3, 1968, attended by representatives of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC); the Committee on the Move for Equality (COME), the Memphis ministerial group which heretofore has furnished the prime support for the sanitation workers strike which began February 12, 1968; and representatives of the Black Organizing Power (BOP), which source one stated is the Memphis governing body of the black nationalists and black militant movement headed by the self-acclaimed leaders Charles Laverne Cabbage and John Burrell Smith.

It was decided at this meeting that a legal staff will be set up to handle any legal matters developing in connection with the strike and in connection with the mass march originally scheduled for Friday, April 5, 1968, to be led by Reverend Martin Luther King, Jr., President of the SCLC. It was decided that Jack Greenberg, head of the legal staff of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), New York, New York, would help to organize this legal staff.

Source one advised that Hosea Williams, Director of Voter Registration and Political Education, SCLC, commented that they would have to get lawyers "who will go all the way and who know all the angles."

Source one advised that at this meeting there were some representatives including Jesse Epps, Field Director of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees, representing the striking sanitation workers, who wanted to move the April 5, 1968, mass march up to April 8, 1968,

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170-70- Sub

order that numerous out-of-town people could come and participate, particularly a representative cross-section of white people throughout the country, particularly labor people who could give an aura of integrated respectability to the march and give it more of a trade union atmosphere and take it out of the current racial atmosphere into which it has evolved.

Source one advised that Epps stated that the union is planning to have at least two if not more chartered plane loads of union people from the New York area to come to Memphis, possibly to arrive late Sunday, April 7, or early Monday, April 8, 1968, in order to participate in the march which is being officially moved to April 8, 1968.

Source one advised that the group at this strategy meeting voted to include Black Organizing Power (BOP) into the over-all planning. Some of those present were skeptical about BOP because of the militant statements made by some of its members and feel that it cannot be trusted or controlled. Particularly critical of BOP were Bishop J. O. Patterson, Sr., of the Church of God in Christ, the father of J. O. Patterson, Jr., one of the three Negro members of the Memphis City Council, and Bishop Julian B. Smith, Bishop of the First Episcopal District CME Church with headquarters at 664 Vance, Memphis, Tennessee. Both Bishop Smith and Bishop Patterson stated that the BOP could not be trusted despite the fact that some of the SCLC leaders insisted that the current movement would have to take on the complexion of a "united front."

Source one pointed out that there is little doubt that the BOP group, small in number, probably not having more than fifteen closely connected members but with some followers on various college campuses and high schools in Memphis, is attempting to blackmail the leadership in the strike activity and in the proposed march activity. The source pointed out that they really have nothing to offer but a title and are attempting to gain finances, communications, and office space in order to further their organization by giving the impression

that they can control potential violence if they are budgeted and funded but that if funds are not forthcoming that "they cannot be responsible for what might happen."

Accordingly, the group at the strategy meeting set up a committeeship consisting of Reverend Ezekiel Bell, male Negro, pastor of Parkway Gardens Presbyterian Church, Memphis, and Samuel B. Kyles, male Negro, pastor of the Monumental Baptist Church, Memphis, Tennessee, and Reverend Jesse Jackson, staff member of SCLC, who has the title of Director of "Operation Breadbasket, North," of SCLC and who is understood by source one to be from Chicago, Illinois, and currently in Memphis working with the SCLC staff. This committee of three will work directly with the BOP group.

At present, according to source one, all funds collected for the sanitation workers support are funneled through the COME group and now BOP is insisting on getting some of this money. Many of those present resent this and feel that all money should logically go to the sanitation workers.

Source one advised that it was also discussed at the meeting whether or not the march would be held despite the fact that the strike conceivably could be settled between April 2 or 3 and April 8, 1968, and also despite the fact that the city of Memphis was talking of getting an injunction against any such march.

Source one advised that the general consensus of the meeting was that regardless of what happens the march will be held and will be a massive march.

Reverend Jesse Jackson outlined in detail his "Breadbasket" program, stating that he will send and direct task forces into all areas of the Negro community of Memphis, representing some 240,000 people in the Negro community, and will contact individually all storekeepers or grocers in these areas and insist very emphatically that they immediately

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cease selling Hart's bread, Wonder bread, and Coca Cola. He further stated that if they refused to cease selling these products that a massive Negro boycott will take place, during which no Negro will purchase any product from these reluctant or noncooperative merchants.

He further stated that he and his SCLC staff are working on a massive nationwide boycott of Plough, Inc., a Memphis-based pharmaceutical and patent medicine firm which is noted for its nationally advertised St. Joseph asperin, because he claimed Plough has been somewhat discriminatory in its hiring practices, not having enough Negroes in high positions, and he is further concerned because Abe Plough, Chairman of the Board and founder of Plough, Inc., is a close personal friend and political ally of Mayor Henry Loeb against whom the Negro community is now united and who has thus far refused to grant a dues check-off to the striking sanitation workers, this being the main obstacle to the settlement of the strike.

Source one advised that Jackson added that other unions, including the Teamsters Union, will probably cooperate in this boycott of Plough, Inc., and that it could well be that Plough products will not be moved in any area of the United States if this boycott is successful.

Also on April 3, 1968, Lieutenant E. H. Arkin, Inspectional Bureau, Memphis Police Department, advised that a reliable source of the Police Department who has always furnished reliable information in the past advised that a meeting of the BOP group, which sometimes interchangeably uses the name "Invaders," was held in the early evening of April 2, 1968, in the Lorraine Motel, 406 Mulberry, Memphis, Tennessee. Arkin's source stated that some of the BOP group, including John Burrell Smith, Charles Cabbage, Charles Ballard, and Edwina Harrell, are staying at the Lorraine Motel with the SCLC group. Part of them are in Room 315. Among those present were John Burrell Smith, Charles Cabbage, Reverend James Orange of the SCLC staff, and a Reverend (First Name Unknown) Carnes or Cornious of Cairo, Illinois, who is connected with the National Council of Churches (NCC) according to his claim and also connected with a "Black

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Liberation Front." There were several others present, names not known, all of whom were either members of BOP, closely affiliated with, or sympathetic thereto.

Lieutenant Arkin's source stated that the person claiming to be Carnes stated that he had been sent to Memphis by the Black Liberation Front as an observer and he pledged money of an unspecified amount for the BOP group if they would "keep pressure on the white man." Carnes told those present, "You have to burn his store and virtually have to burn him before you can bring him around." He was referring to the white man. Carnes (or Cornious) added, according to Arkin's source, that the NCC has two million dollars to dispense to at least five cities in the United States which have either had serious racial trouble or which may have serious racial trouble and that they place red stars beside the names of the prospective cities and that currently Memphis has a red star beside its name.

According to Lieutenant Arkin's source, Reverend James Orange said that he would be willing to work with the black power group and BOP group and he urged BOP to cooperate with Reverend Carnes. Orange pledged his support in the interim since Carnes stated that the earliest he could obtain any funds for the BOP group would be April 15, 1968. John B. Smith got up and referred to BOP as a "steamroller" and stated, "All we want is the money and we'll keep rolling." Following this, Charles Cabbage stated that the BOP group wants money to set up a black co-op and to sell various goods, including black literature in this store, and also to teach black history at this store.

According to Lieutenant Arkin's source, another group involving the BOP met at the Lorraine Motel at 9 p.m. on the night of April 2, 1968, with all of the abovementioned individuals present, including Jesse Jackson who is in charge of "Operation Breadbasket, North" of the SCLC. Here the BOP group headed by Cabbage complained that Reverend James Morris Lawson, Jr., pastor of the Centenary Methodist Church, Memphis, who had been their main liaison with the COME

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and strike support group, was ineffectual as Cabbage said "All he deals in is theory. He is not a guy for strategy and action and is inadequate for our program." He did not elaborate. Cabbage further stated that with regard to the violence which erupted during the March 28, 1968, march led by Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., Lawson had he done his homework would not have been caught by surprise because Lawson should have realized that there was going to be violence on that day. Again he did not elaborate other than to blame the trouble on March 28 on a group of "hustlers," a group of Beale Street and teen-age punks who were out to loot and create trouble, and stated that they used the march as an excuse for so doing. Cabbage laughed and said that none of Lawson's informers had been among this group to "tip him off."

This source stated that those present discussed the fact that BOP wanted to be represented at all future meetings of COME and the SCLC and the union, and that they are demanding fund money to support BOP activities and hope to get it from COME or the Office of Economic Opportunity (OEO) or the War on Poverty Committee (WOPC) in Memphis which is funded by the OEO out of Federal funds. Cabbage suggested that COME, through its influence, could get money from OEO and the WOPC and that Martin Luther King, Jr., if he saw fit, could also get funds for them.

This source stated that Reverend Jesse Jackson said that he was present to ascertain who BOP wanted to sponsor them in the future or be their liaison and they all agreed that Reverend S. B. Kyles of the Monumental Baptist Church would be a good man.

Lieutenant Arkin stated that his source later learned that a strategy meeting of the COME, SCLC, Union and BOP groups was held in Clayborn Temple on the night of April 2, 1968, and that it was agreed that BOP would be represented in the future in strategy meetings of these groups. He stated that Reverend James Orange of the SCLC staff had promised that BOP would have an office of its own in the Minimum Salary Office of the AME Church next door to Clayborn Temple by April 3, 1968.

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SANITATION WORKERS STRIKE,
MEMPHIS, TENNESSEE

Lieutenant Arkin stated that his source advised that it was also discussed that since the Negroes in Memphis are now boycotting the two Memphis daily papers, the "Commercial Appeal" and the "Press-Scimitar," the Negroes would have a definite problem in communicating with each other as to future plans and strategy and that they would have to bring economic pressure on the various radio stations in Memphis to give them free time in order to get their announcements to their people.

Also on April 3, 1968, source one stated that Cabbage, John B. Smith, and Charles Ballard, along with Edwina Harrell, are all staying in Rooms 315 and 316 of the Lorraine Motel.

Also on April 3, 1968, source two advised that at approximately 10:42 a.m., Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., President of SCLC, accompanied by some of his staff, namely Andrew J. Young, Executive Director; Ralph D. Abernathy, Vice President at Large and Treasurer; Bernard Lee, Special Aide to Dr. King; and Dorothy Cotton, all arrived in Memphis by Eastern Airlines from Atlanta, Georgia. This group was driven from the Airport, according to Lieutenant Arkin, on April 3, 1968, in two cars to the Centenary Methodist Church where a meeting was held with COME, SCLC and union people. One group, including King, was driven in a 1966 Buick Electra bearing 1968 Tennessee License JP-9735, which Arkin stated is registered to Thomas C. Matthews, 317 Carpenter Street, and some of the group were driven in a yellow Lincoln with a black top owned by Cornelia Crenshaw, a former manager of one of the Memphis Housing Authority projects and who has been quite active in the COME and strike support movement.

Immediately prior to King's arrival, according to source three, on April 3, 1968, a press conference was held in Clayborn Temple under the auspices of COME and SCLC, at which Reverend Hosea Williams, Director of Voter Registration and Political Education of SCLC, was the main spokesman. He stated that the march had definitely been rescheduled for April 8, 1968, but that SCLC was ready at

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any time to have a march but was deferring to the request of outstanding labor leaders and religious leaders throughout the United States who wanted it postponed in order that they would have time to come from various points throughout the United States in order that they might participate. He stated that many of these people would be arriving in Memphis on Sunday, April 7, 1968. Williams also told the press that the coordinating group had re-structured their committees and had agreed to bring in young militant Negroes in order to give them more say in the strategy because they wanted to encourage participation of youths. He pointed out that the group would allow youths to be parade marshals in the April 8, 1968, march. Williams reported that COME, SCLC, and the Union had accepted a total "united black community participation of all people in a nonviolent movement." He further stated that this group was creating a bureau of information and public relations to commence immediately and would also escalate its boycott against the "Commercial Appeal" and "Press-Scimitar," which he accused of egregiously biased reporting. He also stated that SCLC would set up a permanent chapter of SCLC's "Operation Breadbasket" to be supervised by Reverend Jesse Jackson of the SCLC staff, understood by source three to be from Chicago, and he reiterated that local products which would immediately be boycotted through strong economic pressure on the part of the Negro community would be Hart's bread, Wonder bread, Sealtest Milk, and Coca Cola, as these companies had shown a definite racial bias in their operations. He further stated that the group would sponsor "bank-ins" to try to induce the 240,000 Negroes in Memphis to move all of their bank accounts from white savings and loan companies and banks to Negro banking institutions and would also sponsor an "insurance-in" inducing the same people to drop their insurance policies with white firms and re-insure themselves with Negro insurance firms.

Later on April 3, 1968, source one stated that Dr. King was staying in Room 307 of the Lorraine Motel and that he had checked in there prior to going to the meeting at the Centenary Methodist Church, having returned there for lunch with members of his staff and various representatives of COME and BOP. Source one stated that at the Centenary

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Methodist Church he had addressed the ministers and introduced the "Breadbasket" program, outlined in detail by source three above, to those present, with Reverend Jesse Jackson being the person in charge of this group. One of the outside groups there was Virgie Hortenstine, a white civil rights worker from Cincinnati, Ohio, who has spent the last several years working among indigent Negroes in Fayette and Haywood Counties, Tennessee. She had with her three young white persons and listed her address as 5541 Henry Road, Cincinnati, Ohio. Those with her, phonetically, were Kulti Pichola, Hank Veyner, and Marian Branch, or Braurch. Virgie Hortenstine indicated that she keeps in close touch with Anne Braden, Associate Director of the Southern Conference Educational Fund, Inc. (SCEF), with headquarters at Louisville, Kentucky.

(A characterization of the Southern Conference Educational Fund, Inc., is set forth in the Appendix of this communication.)

Source one learned at this meeting that James Bevel of the SCLC staff has returned to Chicago, Illinois, from Memphis and is momentarily expected back in Memphis.

On the afternoon of April 3, 1968, Mr. Thomas L. Robinson, United States Attorney, Western Judicial District of Tennessee, Memphis, furnished a copy of a temporary restraining order obtained officially at 12:40 p.m., April 3, 1968, issued by United States District Judge Bailey Brown, Memphis, Tennessee. This restraining order reads as follows:

FBI-Withers-1411

SANITATION WORKERS STRIKE,
MEMPHIS, TENNESSEE

"CITY OF MEMPHIS,
A Municipal Corporation,

"Complainant.

"vs. No. C-68-80

"MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.,
HOSEA WILLIAMS, REVEREND
JAMES BEVEL, REVEREND JAMES
ORANGE, RALPH D. ABERNATHY and
BERNARD LEE, all Non-Residents
of the State of Tennessee,

"Defendants.

"TEMPORARY RESTRAINING ORDER

"On this day this cause case on to be heard before the Honorable Bailey Brown, Judge of the United States District Court for the Western District of Tennessee, Western Division, on the verified complaint of the City of Memphis, a municipal corporation, praying that a temporary restraining order issue against Martin Luther King, Jr., Hosea Williams, Reverend James Bevel, Reverend James Orange, Ralph D. Abernathy and Bernard Lee, restraining them from leading or conducting a massive parade or march in the City of Memphis, and

"WHEREAS, it is claimed by said complainant herein that it and its citizens will be irreparably damaged by reason of the fact that a similar parade or march which occurred on March 28, 1968 led by Martin Luther King, Jr. resulted in a riot causing multitudinous personal injury and property damage, and that the said march or parade is likely to cause great hazard, danger and irreparable injury to the complainant and the inhabitants of the City of Memphis; and

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SANITATION WORKERS STRIKE,
MEMPHIS, TENNESSEE

"It appearing to the Court that it is proper that a temporary order should issue herein for a period not to exceed ten (10) days from the entry of this order, said order having been issued without notice for the reason that the said defendants, Martin Luther King, Jr., Hosea Williams, Reverend James Bevel, Reverend James Orange, Ralph D. Abernathy and Bernard Lee, will, unless restrained, proceed immediately to carry on with the proposed march or parade and that immediate and irreparable loss and damage will result to the complainant and the inhabitants of the City of Memphis before the matter could be heard on notice.

"IT IS, THEREFORE, ORDERED That complainant's application for a temporary restraining order be granted upon its giving bond with security to be approved by the Clerk of this Court in the penal sum of $1000.00, securing the defendants against all loss or damage which may result from the issuance of this restraining order, if it should finally be determined that same was improvidently issued, or that may be awarded to them by reason of the granting of the said order, and the said defendants, Martin Luther King, Jr., Hosea Williams, Reverend James Bevel, Reverend James Orange, Ralph D. Abernathy and Bernard Lee, their servants and employees and all persons acting under their authority, or in concert with them, are hereby specifically restrained and enjoined from organizing or leading a parade or march in the City of Memphis until the further orders of the Court thereon.

"Dated this 3rd day of April, 1968 at 12:40 o'clock P.M.

/s/ "Bailey Brown
United States District Judge"

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SANITATION WORKERS STRIKE,
MEMPHIS, TENNESSEE

Later on April 3, 1968, source one advised that warrants in connection with the temporary restraining order were served at the Lorraine Motel on the afternoon of April 3, 1968, by United States Marshal Cato Ellis and one of his Deputy Marshals Willie Durham, Memphis, on Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., Hosea Williams, Reverend James Orange, Ralph D. Abernathy, and Bernard Lee. Ellis and Durham were unable to serve the warrant on Bevel, which actually was a restraining order, due to the fact that King told Ellis that Bevel had temporarily returned to Chicago and was expected back in Memphis on the night of April 3, 1968, and that he would have Bevel contact Ellis in order that the Order could be served on him.

Source one advised that the Lorraine Motel was a "beehive of activity" in that Reverend James Morris Lawson has set up Room 310 as a legal office and that already attorneys serving the SCLC and COME groups are Lucius Burch, described by source one as one of the more prominent attorneys in the city of Memphis, and his law associates William J. Michael Cody III and his son-in-law David Caywood. Also serving as attorneys were Walter Lee Bailey, Jr., a male Negro, and Louis Lucas, a white attorney of the law firm of Sugarmon, Ratner, Willis, and Lucas. This group is also bringing in a group of student lawyers from various Eastern universities, plus the University of Mississippi, for the purpose of taking complaints from various Negroes in Memphis who are claiming that they were victims of so-called "police brutality" growing out of the March 28, 1968, disturbance in Memphis. This group is apparently sponsored by the NAACP, Inc., fund, according to source one. It was indicated, however, that Lucius Burch will handle the over-all legal activities and that on the morning of April 4, 1968, Burch and his associates plan to appear in the Court of United States District Court Judge Bailey Brown, seeking to have his temporary restraining order set aside, thus opening the door for the April 8, 1968, march.

Source one added that BOP representatives Charles Cabbage, Edwina Harrell, and Don Neely all ate dinner with Dr. King and Dorothy Cotton and Andrew J. Young, the latter two being of the SCLC staff. Source one stated that Harrell

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is a sophomore at Memphis State University (MSU) who has been living with some of the black power people at the Lorraine Motel for the past several days. She lives at 2418 Gentry and attended Spellman College in Atlanta, Georgia, last year.

Source one stated that Neely resides at 531 East McLemore and is an Owen College dropout and has been described by his brother as a fanatic follower of Charles Cabbage and John B. Smith.

Source one further learned that James Morris Lawson, Jr., pastor of the Centenary Methodist Church, who heretofore has been the liaison man from the COME group with the BOP forces, is definitely no longer in accord with BOP and is extremely worried at the fact that BOP is being brought into the COME, SCLC and Union coalition. His basis for concern is the fact that BOP is not disciplined, is definitely unpredictable, and has given vent to statements advocating violence in the past. Lawson stated that no one could control them and he feels that their presence in the coalition will definitely divide the necessary and imperative united Negro ministerial support which COME has heretofore had.

Source one advised that Hosea Williams on learning of Lawson's concern told the COME group that while BOP is a divergent, dissident, belligerent and militant group, nevertheless they are Negroes and that the older people will have to make some effort to form a united front with them and maintain liaison with them.

Source stated that there is no doubt in his mind based on Lawson's comments and attitude that Lawson is bitter because Cabbage recently made a statement to Robert Analavage, staff writer for the "Southern Patriot," official publication of the SCEF, to the effect that nonviolence in Memphis died on March 28, 1968, as a result of the violence which occurred on that date and as a result Martin Luther King, Jr., and his concept of nonviolence and James Morris Lawson, Jr., and his concept of nonviolence are "dead," as far as leadership of Negroes is concerned. Lawson appears to be most resentful of this.

SANITATION WORKERS STRIKE,
MEMPHIS, TENNESSEE

Lawson made the comment, according to source one, on April 3, 1968, that "We had an excellent movement here and BOP by his irresponsibility can ruin it." He stated that all BOP does is to beg money and to criticize and that it never offers anything constructive.

Source one added that in connection with the meeting at the Lorraine Motel on the afternoon of April 3, 1968, that some of the BOP people were trying to call in other students and supporters from throughout the city of Memphis to meet with them.

Probable corroboration of this latter information was furnished by source four on April 3, 1968, who advised that between 12:20 and 12:30 p.m., April 3, 1968, in the Student Center at Memphis State University, which has a group known as the Black Student Association (BSA), one of the leaders of which is Edwina Harrell of the BOP Governing Body, some calls came over the public address system urging Ronald Ivy, Eric Fair, and Thomas Potter to immediately call Rooms 310 and 315 of the Lorraine Motel or to come there if possible. Source four stated that a few moments later another call came over the public address system asking for Donald Douglass or Robert Montgomery to call or come to Room 316 of the Lorraine Motel. Source four advised that there is a Ronald Lewis Ivy, who is one of the leaders of the BSA group, a senior, who lives at 560 LaClede Avenue, Memphis, Tennessee, a male Negro, currently enrolled at MSU. Source four further advised that Donald Douglass is undoubtedly identical with Donald Eugene Douglass, a freshman student residing at 2036 Benton Street. Source four added that there is one Robert Montgomery enrolled in MSU, he being a freshman, residing at 1608 Waverly, and that he possibly could be identical with the Robert Montgomery who was paged.

Source four added that there is one Eric Fair listed on the rolls of MSU, namely Eric Wardell Fair, a freshman student, listing no home address, with his telephone number shown as 324-0693. Source four stated that there is one Thomas Potter listed in the MSU rolls, this being Thomas Eugene Potter, a freshman student, with no home address listed, home telephone shown as 946-3284.

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SANITATION WORKERS STRIKE,
MEMPHIS, TENNESSEE

Also on April 3, 1968, a fifth source advised that several rough-talking black militants have been hanging around the Clayborn Temple, which is the more-or-less strike supporter headquarters, on recent dates; and that on April 2, 1968, an individual identified as Theodore Manuel, Jr., who is about 5 feet 10 inches tall, weighing 150 pounds, a male Negro, with medium brown complexion, claiming to be an original Memphis resident and recently of Detroit, Michigan, stated that he had been in Memphis about three weeks and bragged that on March 28, 1968, during the riot which developed during the march led by Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., that he had been injured ostensibly by the police, was hit on the head, and injured in one of his elbows. He appears to be about 33 years of age. He said that at the time of the injury he went to the St. Joseph Hospital for treatment but left hurriedly when he heard the police were coming. He did not elaborate.

On April 3, 1968, Lieutenant George Feathers, Inspectional Bureau, Memphis Police Department, advised as follows:

Feathers advised that the "Press-Scimitar" newspaper, issue of March 29, 1968, carried a list of some of those people who had been treated at the hospitals for injuries received in connection with the March 28, 1968, riot and that Theodore Manuel, residence 949 D Mosby, listing his occupation as a CPA, had been treated at St. Joseph Hospital for abrasions on his head and injuries to his left elbow. He refused X-ray treatment and discharged himself, not waiting for additional treatment.

Source five stated that another young militant male Negro hanging around Clayborn Temple is Willie James Kimp, male Negro, about 23 years of age, who allegedly lives at 1015 Palermo. He hangs around with John Henry Ferguson, male Negro, age about 20, who lives at 1279 Pennsylvania, and source understands that both Ferguson and Kimp have already been arrested by the Memphis Police Department on about three different occasions since the strike began, on charges of Disorderly Conduct and general obstructive tactics.

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SANITATION WORKERS STRIKE,
MEMPHIS, TENNESSEE

Source five stated that another individual who showed up at the church, claiming to have black power connections, was one Jake or Jack Connor, male Negro, about 27 to 28 years of age, 5 feet 10 inches in height, heavy-set, weighing 180 to 190 pounds, with a broad chest, and heavy head of hair worn in a semi-Afro hair cut. This individual had medium brown skin with a small thin beard and a thin mustache. He carries a brown brief case, wears khaki pants and Delta (ankle-length) boots. Connor indicated that he had been in Memphis about two or three days and had been invited in. He did not say who had invited him but stated that he was to contact John B. Smith who was supposed to be driving a blue Mustang and on hearing this Kimp told Jake or Jack Connor that it was not generally known but that John B. Smith was temporarily staying at the Lorraine Motel. At this point, a male Negro preacher, age 38 to 40, name not known, told Connor that if he would wait he would take him over to the Lorraine to contact Smith.

Some of those individuals, according to source five, have a special handshake, whereby they grab a person's hand normally, then grab his thumb, then grab his wrist, and then give him a regular handshake which is some sort of a symbol of recognition.

Source stated that Kimp told one of the individuals present that he has been staying in Chicago with an aunt, that Kimp is not his real name, that his real name is Johnson, and that he has been connected with a black power group in Chicago, known as the Black Stone Rangers. Kimp indicated that he recently had a Pontiac which was wrecked and he is trying to sell some magnetic wheels and the transmission which were salvaged therefrom.

Source stated that another person present, tentatively identified by source five, was Verdell Brooks, ostensibly connected with the BOP group and a student at Owen College. Brooks indicated that he had to "lay low" and might have to leave town. He did not have to elaborate nor did any of the others present.

Kimp stated that two or other "Black Stone Rangers" were in town with him.

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SANITATION WORKERS STRIKE,
MEMPHIS, TENNESSEE

Source five noted that Manuel challenges all people whom he does not know and exhibited a gash in his head and a swollen elbow. He feels that he has a lot to offer Memphis because he claimed he had been involved in a race riot in Detroit in the Summer of 1967 and claimed that he was connected with some unidentified black nationalist group in Detroit.

Kimp also kept mentioning the group known as "Invaders," apparently connected with the BOP group in Memphis, and indicated that he would soon be doing some recruiting for this group. Manuel talked to Kimp in some detail about this group.

Source five advised that another unidentified Negro present who appeared to be a part of this group was dark-skinned, 6 feet 2 or 3 inches tall, heavy build, weighing possibly 220 pounds, had a dark heavy beard although the beard was thin due to the paucity of hair on his face. He indicated he was from Alabama.

The information set forth above was orally furnished on April 3, 1968, to representatives of the 111th Military Intelligence Group, Third Army, Memphis, and to Lieutenant E. H. Arkin and Lieutenant George Feathers of the Inspectional Bureau, Memphis Police Department.

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SOUTHERN CONFERENCE EDUCATIONAL FUND, INC. (SCEF)

The Southern Conference for Human Welfare (SCHW) was cited as a Communist front by the House Committee on Un-American Activities, House Report 592, June 12, 1947. In the same house report, "The Southern Patriot," was cited as an "organ" of the SCHW.

An amendment to the charter of the SCHW dated April 26, 1946, changed its name to the Southern Conference Educational Fund, Incorporated (SCEF) and stated its purpose to be to improve the educational and cultural standards of the Southern people in accordance with the highest American democratic institutions, traditions, and ideals.

The masthead of the April, 1967, issue of "The Southern Patriot" indicates that it is the publication of SCEF, editorial and business offices of which are located at 3210 West Broadway, Louisville, Kentucky, Eastern Office of which is located at Suite 412, 798 Broadway, New York City, New York. "The Southern Patriot" is published once each month, except July. The SCEF is stated to be dedicated to ending discrimination based on race, creed, color, sex, national origin, or economic condition.

Carl Braden is identified as Executive Director of SCEF and Anne Braden as editor of "The Southern Patriot."

Mrs. Alberta Ahearn, 2311 Payne Street, Louisville, Kentucky, a self-admitted former member of the Communist Party (CP), Louisville, Kentucky, testified on December 11, and 13, 1954 in Jefferson County, Kentucky Criminal Court in a state sedition prosecution against Carl James Braden. She identified Carl Braden and his wife, Anne McCarty Braden, as having been known to her as members of the CP from January, 1951, to December, 1954.

The SCEF is self-described as having deep roots in the South where it began as the educational wing of the SCHW, organized in 1938 to work for economic and political reform. When the SCHW disbanded in the late 1940's, SCEF

continued as an independent organization, rallying support for integration and democracy and helping to stimulate and nurture new movements of the early 1960's. The SCEF maintained headquarters in Louisiana for twenty years, but in 1966 moved its headquarters to Louisville, Kentucky.

A source advised on March 2, 1961, that Claude Lightfoot, a Communist Party functionary, stated at a meeting of the Communist Party in Baltimore, Maryland, on February 25, 1961, that the Communist Party is not connected with any progressive movement but indirectly they do have some influence in the SCEF.

A second source, who is familiar with some phases of Communist Party activity in the New Orleans area, advised on June 3, 1966, that during the time that the SCHW was in existence, members of the Communist Party were members of and worked actively in the SCHW; however, since the formation of the SCEF, Communist Party members have not been encouraged to work in the SCEF. The source stated that the SCEF is a progressive, liberal organization, which he considers a Communist Party front organization because it has gone along with the Communist Party on certain issues, particularly on the racial issue.

A third source advised on May 25, 1965, that George Meyers, a Communist Party functionary, expressed great admiration for Carl and Anne Braden and the SCEF, with which they are affiliated, and expressed the view that the SCEF is the best organization in the South as far as doing effective work is concerned and that they have a better idea of what they are doing, where they are heading, and influence other organizations for the better.

The second source also advised on June 3, 1966, that many people who are officials and supporters of the SCEF, while liberal in their views, are by no means Communists.

SANITATION WORKERS STRIKE,
MEMPHIS, TENNESSEE

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

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UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to File No.

Memphis, Tennessee
April 5, 1968

DECLASSIFICATION AUTHORITY DERIVED FROM
FBI AUTOMATIC DECLASSIFICATION GUIDE
JA 5 12-22-2014

Title: SANITATION WORKERS STRIKE, MEMPHIS, TENNESSEE

Charactor: RACIAL MATTERS

Reference: Memorandum prepared at Memphis, Tennessee, dated and captioned as above.

All sources (except any listed below) whose identities are concealed in referenced communication have furnished reliable information in the past.

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

DECLASSIFICATION AUTHORITY DERIVED FROM
THE AUTOMATIC DECLASSIFICATION GUIDE
DATE: 02 27 2012

FBI

Date: 4/5/68

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plain text or code)

Via AIRTEL _____
(Priority or Method of Mailing)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI

FROM: SAC, MEMPHIS (157-1092) (P)

SANITATION WORKERS STRIKE,
MEMPHIS, TENNESSEE
RM

OO: Memphis

Re Memphis airtel and LHM dated 4/4/68.

Enclosed herewith for the Bureau are 11 copies, and for WFO, Atlanta and Chicago 3 copies each and for Springfield, Milwaukee, and Detroit 2 copies each of a letterhead memorandum dated 4/5/68 and captioned as above.

3 - Bureau (Encs.11) (RM)
3 - Atlanta (Encs.3)(RM) (Info)
(1 - MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.)
(1 - Washington Spring Project)
(1 - SCLC)
3 - Chicago (Encs.3)(RM)
(1 - MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.)
(1 - Washington Spring Project)
(1 - SCLC)
2 - Detroit (Encs.2)(RM)
(1 - 157-Sanitation Workers Strike, Memphis)
(1 - 157-[redacted])
2 - Milwaukee (Encs.2)(RM)
(1 - 157-Sanitation Workers Strike, Memphis)
(1 - 157-[redacted])
2 - Springfield (Encs.2)(RM)
(157-[redacted])
3 - WFO (Encs.3)(RM)(Info)
(1 - MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.)
(1 - SCLC)
(1 - Washington Spring Project)
(2) - Memphis (157-1092)
(COPIES LISTED PAGE 2)

WHL:gmh
(45)

Approved: _____ Sent SPC 12/10/81 M Per _____
Special Agent In Charge

1- 170-70 Sub

DECLASSIFICATION 9/5/88

170-70 - Sub

FBI-Withers-1424

CONFIDENTIAL

MEMPHIS COPIES CONTINUED:

1 - 157-1092, Sanitation Workers Strike, Memphis, Tenn., RM.
1 - 157-556, Possible Racial Violence, Major Urban Areas
1 - 157-109, SNCC
1 - 100-4105, MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.
1 - 157-166, SCLC
1 - 157-957, [redacted]
1 - 100-4528, [redacted]
1 - 157-1070, [redacted]
1 - 170-1024, [redacted]
1 - 170-98, [redacted]
2 - 157-NEW, [redacted]
2 - 157-NEW, [redacted]
2 - 157-NEW, [redacted]
2 - 157-NEW, [redacted]
2 - 157-NEW, [redacted]
2 - 157-NEW, [redacted]
1 - 157-1116, [redacted]
1 - 170-70 Sub, [redacted] (U)
1 - 170-1040, [redacted]
1 - 157-1097, Washington Spring Project
1 - 66-1687 Sub A, Dissemination File

Copies of the enclosed LHM are being disseminated to the U. S. Attorney, Memphis, and U. S. Secret Service, Memphis, and to Regional Offices of Military Intelligence.

Sources utilized in the enclosed LHM are as follows:

Source one is [redacted] (U)
Source two is [redacted]

Source three is [redacted]

Source four is [redacted]

Source five is [redacted]

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LEADS:

ATLANTA AND WASHINGTON FIELD OFFICES: (Information)

Copies are being furnished Atlanta and WFO for information in view of their interest in SCLC, MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR., and Washington Spring Project.

CHICAGO DIVISION

AT CHICAGO, ILL.

Will review indices and conduct credit and criminal checks re WILLIE JAMES KIMP, male Negro, date of birth 9/24/45, who said he has been living in Chicago with an aunt and claims to be with the Black Stone Rangers.

DETROIT DIVISION

AT DETROIT, MICHIGAN

Will review indices and check Detroit Police Department and credit records regarding THEODORE MANUEL, JR., Negro male, born 12/16/36, Memphis, Tenn.

MILWAUKEE DIVISION

AT MILWAUKEE, WISCONSIN

Will search indices re JAKE or JACK CONNOR and conduct criminal checks.

SPRINGFIELD DIVISION

AT SPRINGFIELD, ILL.

Will search indices re Black Liberation Front and Rev. (FNU) CARNES or CORNIOUS(or COINS).

AT CAIRO, ILL.

Will check re Black Liberation Front and Rev. CARNES,aka.

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UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to File No.

Memphis, Tennessee
April 6, 1968

DECLASSIFICATION AUTHORITY DERIVED FROM:
FBI AUTOMATIC DECLASSIFICATION GUIDE
DATE 02 27 2012

Re: SANITATION WORKERS STRIKE,
MEMPHIS, TENNESSEE
RACIAL MATTERS

The following is a summary of activities in Memphis, Tennessee, received on April 4 and occurring on late April 3 and on April 4, 1968, as specified hereinafter:

The "Commercial Appeal" newspaper, issue of April 4, 1968, in a story on page 8 reported that Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., on the night of April 3, 1968, spoke to more than two thousand persons at Mason Temple in connection with the sanitation workers strike at Memphis, Tennessee, which began February 12, 1968. Dr. King emphasized that a scheduled mass march must be held Monday, April 8, 1968, to "re-focus attention on the eight-week-old sanitation workers strike." He said, "If the police dogs and fire hoses in Alabama couldn't stop us, an injunction in Memphis, Tennessee, can't." He stated that the violence which had erupted during the March 28, 1968, mass march led by him caused the tension to focus on the "broken windows." He said "That's what happens when you have a little violence. The press concentrated on the broken windows and not the issues." He stated that the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC) lawyers were going into United States District Court on the morning of April 4, 1968, to fight the temporary restraining order issued on April 3, 1968, by United States District Court Judge Bailey Brown against further marches in Memphis, Tennessee. Dr. King again called for economic boycotts against leading Memphis businesses. He said, "We don't need bricks and bottles and Molotov cocktails. We're building an economic base and putting pressure where it hurts."

The paper continued that Dr. King again urged persons to leave work and school to join the April 8, 1968, scheduled march. The paper reported that he was again scheduled to speak on the night of April 4, 1968, also at Mason Temple.

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The paper also reported that Dr. Ralph Abernathy, Executive Vice President of SCLC, spoke and praised Dr. King, saying that despite Dr. King's honors, he had not yet decided to be President of the United States, adding, "But he is the man who tells the President what to do."

The paper also reported in this story that the last battalion of the Tennessee National Guard had been released from active duty and that the 200 Tennessee Highway Patrol Troopers who had been on duty since March 28, 1968, had also returned home on late April 3, 1968.

Also on April 4, 1968, a first source advised that a strategy meeting was held on the night of April 3 and early morning of April 4, 1968, at the Minimum Salary of the CME Church, next door to Clayborn Temple, which has been the unofficial headquarters of the groups supporting the sanitation strikers, namely the Community on the Move for Equality (COME), a group of Memphis ministers, and the SCLC, and recently the Black Organizing Power (BOP), which, according to its leaders Charles Laverne Cabbage and John Burrell Smith, is affiliated fraternally with the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, (SNCC).

The big problem which developed, according to source one, was the fact that Cabbage and his BOP group want to gain importance. They want to give the illusion to the Negro leaders in Memphis that they are the only force which can control militant Negro youths in Memphis and can prevent trouble if necessary and they are emphasizing that if the COME and the SCLC group provide them with sufficient money, with no strings attached, that they will possibly work to maintain a status of nonviolence in Memphis. The other problem discussed was that of organizing parade marshals and making efforts to pinpoint those who might cause trouble in the scheduled April 8, 1968, mass march.

SANITATION WORKERS STRIKE,
MEMPHIS, TENNESSEE

According to source one, Cabbage kept claiming to have the power to do things but when the ministers and SCLC people present pinned him down, he was vague. At one point, Cabbage's girl friend, also a member of the governing body of BOP, namely Edwina Jeanetta Harrell, said, "All of this talk and nothing accomplished."

Source one advised that another representative of BOP, in addition to Harrell, was Charles Steven Ballard, an Owen college student.

Source one advised that the meeting was chaired by Reverend James Morris Lawson, Jr., pastor of the Centenary Methodist Church, Memphis.

Source one advised that another person present at this meeting was a young, semi-militant Negro male, about 17 years of age, Murray Austin Ervin of 1108 Argyle, President of the Student Body at Northside High School in Memphis, but it could not be definitely determined if he was part of the BOP group. He criticized Martin Luther King, Jr., for only preaching nonviolence in the Beale Street area of Memphis, saying that Beale Street had nothing but a bunch of old men and that if King really wanted to accomplish something, he should go into the housing projects and other fringe Negro ghetto areas and talk with youths in those areas, as those youths generally represented the most militant Negro youths in Memphis.

Source one advised that the group present decided that workshops would begin in Mason Temple on the afternoon of April 4, 1968, preceding the night of April 4, 1968, mass meeting; and that at these workshops SCLC personnel would teach their methods of nonviolent marching and parade marshaling. It was decided that, for example, Reverend Henry Logan Starks, pastor of the St. James AME Church and a member of the COME group, would be a top deputy marshal and it was up to him to obtain 25 ministers who would serve as marshals under his guidance. It was decided that Charles Laverne Cabbage would be a top deputy marshal and that it was up to him to provide 25 of his BOP and related people as marshals, although

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Cabbage indicated that he did not have 25 BOP members but had allies and associates in his movement of a larger number at the various colleges. It was also decided that SCLC would provide marshals of an undetermined number.

Source one stated that Cabbage resented the fact that SCLC was to train the marshals and kept saying, "We don't need outsiders to come into Memphis and tell us what to do."

According to source one, Andrew J. Young of the SCLC staff tried to diplomatically tell Cabbage that SCLC merely wanted to lend the benefit of its vast experience and counsel based on numerous task marches throughout the country.

Source one stated that Cabbage very definitely appeared to be "trying to drop a pigeon on the COME and SCLC group," explaining that this was a form of blackmail on his part where he in effect was saying to them, "Give us money or we can't be responsible for any violence which might happen."

One of the leading strike supporters, Cornelia Crenshaw, a Negro political leader in Memphis, stated that she definitely would be opposed to any of the strike support funds raised by COME being diverted to subsidize a special group such as Cabbage's BOP.

Source one stated that also opposing the giving of any money to Cabbage and his group were Dr. Vasco A. Smith, Jr., and wife, Mrs. Maxine Smith, Dr. Smith being the Vice President and Mrs. Smith being the Executive Secretary of the NAACP Chapter in Memphis, Tennessee. They felt that Cabbage merely wanted to get a strong foothold in the Negro movement in Memphis and that it could give the Negro movement a bad image.

SANITATION WORKERS STRIKE,
MEMPHIS, TENNESSEE

Source one stated that also present was one Ernest Smith, a male Negro, middle age, who stated that he was with some branch of the Methodist Church in Washington, D. C., having to do with race and religion. He seemed to be much impressed with Cabbage and in fact gave Cabbage a calling card, listing his Memphis motel address and asking that Cabbage contact him on April 4, 1968, for a conference.

Source one stated that Bernard Lee, Administrative Aide to Dr. King, stated that Cabbage had also "conned" SCLC out of $167.00, which came out of SCLC headquarters in Atlanta, this money given to Cabbage ostensibly to pay for the motel rooms at the Lorraine Hotel which he, John Smith, Edwina Harrell and others had been occupying since around March 30, 1968. Lee further stated that it appeared that Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., and his group were unable to get through to Cabbage and his group and to convince them of their philosophy of nonviolence. Lee stated that it appeared that Cabbage wants money now without being able to give any firm commitments. Source one pointed out that Cabbage, Edwina Harrell, and Ballard all used extremely vulgar and foul language in this meeting attended by several prominent Negro ministers and Negro women.

[redacted] Cabbage [redacted] told Edwina Harrell that he wanted her to go and arrange for a conference with Dr. King and he said it in the following manner, "I want you to go down there and tell that Nigger King that I want him to come up here and see me." Source one pointed out that as of the night of April 3, 1968, it had also been determined that James Phillips of the BOP governing body, John Burrell Smith, and Verdell Brooks of the governing body of BOP, along with Don Neely, 531 East McLemore, Memphis, a new follower of the BOP group, were all in the Lorraine Hotel prior to the above-described mass meeting.

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SANITATION WORKERS STRIKE,
MEMPHIS, TENNESSEE

At this meeting also at the Lorraine Hotel, John Burrell Smith claimed that he is giving regularly a portion of his GI educational bill check which he receives by virtue of his attendance at Owen College to the BOP treasury, and James Elmore Phillips, an Owen College student, stated that he had already given over $100 to the BOP treasury. Phillips and Smith argued quite vehemently, talking in a crazy and vague manner, being highly emotional and dramatic, and little that they said made sense.

Source one advised that also on the late evening of April 3, 1968, Bernard Lee of the SCLC staff lamented the fact that the SCLC people, including Dr. King, had consistently met with the BOP group but had concluded that the BOP group is too impatient in that it wants instant action, instant success, and instant accomplishments, coupled with the fact that the BOP group does not trust anyone. Lee stated that despite this the SCLC group would try to help BOP but added, "We won't be blackmailed by them."

Also on the late evening of April 3, 1968, according to source one, Hosea Williams, of the SCLC, told John Burrell Smith and Charles Cabbage that he and Reverend James Orange of the SCLC staff would be willing to continue to talk with them, Williams stating that he and Orange were probably better able emotionally to deal with people like Cabbage. He did not elaborate.

Source one also recalled that on the late night of April 3, 1968, Reverend James Lawson made the statement, "Thank goodness there was a riot in Memphis last week (March 28, 1968) because without it we wouldn't have gotten all the outside help and attention, such as that furnished by SCLC." Lawson added, however, that despite the fact that violence had occurred, he could not personally as a minister of the gospel condone violence.

Source one stated that Lawson made another comment, "We'll try to get along with BOP. We'll just do the best we can." Lawson stated that the Memphis Police Department and law enforcement in general needed to take more preventive measures in dealing with the problem of Negroes in large cities, that it needed better training of its personnel, and

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that by the same token, the people preparing for large downtown marches had a duty to train and have more and better parade marshals to keep the marchers in line.

Source one stated that Lawson said that he hoped that King would be able to go into the Negro neighborhoods and talk with the young Negro militants and preach nonviolence to them.

Also according to source one, on the night of April 3, 1968, Reverend Williams Smith of the COME group tried to get over to Cabbage that he needed to talk prevention rather than violence.

Source one pointed out that Cabbage stated that he would never tell COME or SCLC how to prevent violence and Cabbage gave every impression in his ambiguous, vague statements of being a "dreamer," and stated that he has visions of a massive black political movement of an undetermined nature in the United States.

Also source one added that on the late night of April 3, 1968, Mrs. Maxine Smith stated that the NAACP would lend its support to the April 8, 1968, march but that she could not get any satisfaction out of talking with Charles Cabbage as he was too militant and too distrustful.

[redacted] Cabbage [redacted] and his group would soon be moving from the Lorraine Hotel and that they would leave SCLC responsible for paying the Hotel bill.

Source one added that considerable dissension has arisen between King and his aides and the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees Union, which is representing the striking workers, in that the Union wants to bring thousands of people to Memphis in the mass march on April 8, 1968, whereas King and his group are worried feeling that if these people come to Memphis they will spend large amounts of money, time and effort and will be less likely to support his Washington Spring Project, scheduled to begin in Washington on April 22,1968.

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SANITATION WORKERS STRIKE,
MEMPHIS, TENNESSEE

On April 4, 1968, Lieutenant E. H. Arkin, Inspectional Bureau, Memphis, Tennessee, Police Department, advised that a confidential source who had furnished the Police Department extremely reliable information in the past had reported on April 4, 1968, that the BOP will definitely take part and participate in future strategy meetings involving the SCLC and COME. This source further told Arkin that Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., appeared at a noon ministerial meeting at the Centenary Methodist Church on April 3, 1968, to give the reasons for being in Memphis, stating that his purpose in returning to Memphis was to lead a march on April 8, 1968; and he denied that he, personally, as well as the sanitation workers, was responsible in any manner for the racial trouble that was developed during the March 28, 1968, march. King told the ministers that the troublemakers are actually to be pitied for all they have ever known is poverty and the economic war attendant to living in poverty. He explained the "Operation Breadbasket" program and economic boycott program of white businesses which was being spearheaded by one of his assistants, Reverend Jesse Jackson of Chicago, Illinois.

Lieutenant Arkin's source also reported that at the Lorraine Hotel on April 3, 1968, John Burrell Smith and Charles Cabbage, along with other BOP personnel, personally met with Dr. King and his staff; and John Burrell Smith kept saying to King and his group, "What's more important, Memphis or Washington?" In discussing, according to Arkin's source, the temporary injunction issued by Memphis United States District Court Judge Bailey on April 3, 1968, restricting and preventing any marches for a period of ten days, King stated that he would have to consult with his staff before deciding whether or not to march in defiance of the order and that he at first thought United States President Lyndon B. Johnson was responsible for the injunction hoping thereby to set a precedent for preventing his group from engaging in the Washington Spring Project, a massive influx of poverty stricken people to the Nation's Capital beginning on April 22, 1968. Lieutenant Arkin's source further stated that at about 4 p.m., April 3, 1968, King

met with the BOP group and that among those meeting were Martin Luther King, Jr., John Burrell Smith, Charles Cabbage, and one Oree McKenzie, a young Negro male. Also at the meeting were Edwina Harrell and a young man called Phil. Jesse Jackson, Hosea Williams, and Andrew J. Young all of the SCLC staff were also at the meeting. At this meeting Cabbage asked for immediate money to use by BOP to start a "Liberation School" and a "Black Co-op," at which black culture and black history could be taught and through which Black literature could be sold.

Cabbage indicated that he had a 5-point program which he did not pinpoint and that he needed money. He at first started talking in terms of two million dollars.

According to Lieutenant Arkin's source, Martin Luther King, Jr., told Cabbage that he would use his influence in a group of churches recently formed in Detroit and that this new church group had set up a program of giving financial aid to black militant groups. King stated that this church group, not further described, would give money to eight different cities and would channel this through Andrew J. Young of his staff and that Young could handle the mechanics and set up an outline but would have to have a better plan and finalized program from Cabbage before pursuing this further. King told Cabbage that he would have to re-write his plan. Andrew Young stated that he would help write up a plan for BOP.

In the opinion of Arkin's source, King and his group will give money to BOP in order to keep them in line and to keep them from following a violent pattern, particularly while King and his group are in Memphis.

King concluded that, regardless, the BOP group would definitely have to be recognized by the Negro leadership in Memphis.

As an aftermath of this meeting, according to Lieutenant Arkin's source, several of the BOP people were drinking a highly alcoholic content cough medicine and getting drunk on it and that James Phillips, the individual

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previously referred to as Phil, got into a highly emotional argument with John Burrell Smith and actually broke down and cried. This group indicated that they obtained something similar to marijuana or some sort of intoxicant from a Beale Street character named Jiggs. They did not elaborate.

Lieutenant Arkin added that his source commented on the mass meeting on the night of April 3, 1968, at which King and Ralph D. Abernathy spoke, adding that in addition to their speeches that Reverend James Morris Lawson, Jr., spoke, giving an emotional speech concerning the police shooting of a 17-year-old male Negro named Larry Payne during the March 28, 1968, rioting and looting in Memphis. Lawson stated that this was police brutality at its worst and was a continuation of brutality as "we, the black people" have known for a long, long time. Lawson stated that neither Mace, snow nor the new injunction would stop any future marches.

Also speaking was Reverend Malcolm Douglas Blackburn, pastor of the Clayborn Temple, in which speech he compared the Memphis marches with Jericho of Biblical times and stated that "We'll march until the walls of Memphis crumble."

Later on April 4, 1968, a second source advised that Dorothy Cotton of the SCLC staff had left Memphis at 11:20 a.m., via Eastern Airlines en route to Atlanta, Georgia. This source later stated that at 4:30 p.m., April 4, 1968, Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., Ralph D. Abernathy and Andrew J. Young had made arrangements to fly to Atlanta, Georgia, one way, with no return reservations being made, to leave Memphis at 7 a.m., April 5, 1968, aboard Eastern Airlines Flight 384, due to arrive at Atlanta at 9:03 a.m., EST.

FBI-Withers-1436

SANITATION WORKERS STRIKE,
MEMPHIS, TENNESSEE

At about 6:07 p.m., April 4, 1968, Lieutenant E. H. Arkin, Memphis Police Department, advised that Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., had been shot by an unknown assailant as he was standing in front of the Lorraine Hotel, 406 Mulberry Street, Memphis, Tennessee.

Later on the evening of April 4, 1968, Captain Jewell G. Ray, Inspectional Bureau, Memphis Police Department, advised that the Memphis Police Department had determined from preliminary investigation that the shot which felled Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., had been fired from an upstairs window at a cheap rooming house or "flop" house at 422½ South Main Street, the rear windows of which would overlook an open lot giving a direct view to the front of the Lorraine Hotel, and that a .30 caliber automatic rifle and a cardboard box, a blue suitcase and box of .30 caliber shells had been found in the immediate vicinity of the flop house. Captain Ray also stated that the assailant, a white male, who had registered in the flop house earlier on April 4, 1968, as one John Willard, giving no address, had allegedly fled on foot and was possibly seen jumping into a white Mustang or similar white car.

On the evening of April 4, 1968, Steve McCall, 111th Military Intelligence Corps, Third Army, Memphis, advised that the Governor of Tennessee, Buford Ellington, had ordered the Tennessee National Guard to immediate duty in Memphis, Tennessee, and that approximately 3,400 Guardsmen were en route, all coming from West Tennessee Guard units and that two units from Middle Tennessee were being flown to Memphis. He stated that the Guard would be quartered at Armour Station, a substation of the Memphis Police Department, at the Memphis Fairgrounds, and at the Tennessee Air National Guard installation, at the Memphis Municipal Airport.

Later on the night of April 4, 1968, Captain Ray and Lieutenant E. H. Arkin and Lieutenant George Feathers, all of the Inspectional Bureau of the Memphis Police Department, advised that a curfew had been placed into effect; that all restaurants and public amusement places had been closed; and that sporadic burnings and lootings

FBI-Withers-1437

were taking place, particularly in the Negro areas of Memphis, primarily involving liquor stores and sundry stores, and that a large fire had been placed at a lumber yard off North Second Street. They pointed out that some officers had been shot at by unidentified snipers, but that as of midnight the situation was reasonably in hand although the fire department, in answering some calls, had been bombarded by bottles and rocks and in those instances where the police could not release sufficient personnel to guard them, the fire department called its men back and allowed the fires to burn. They stated that the only real serious fire that he knew of was the lumber yard fire in North Memphis.

Lieutenant Arkin stated on April 4, 1968, that during the day of April 4, 1968, hearings had been held in the Court of Judge Bailey Brown on the part of attorneys representing the SCLC and the City of Memphis to determine whether or not Judge Brown should withdraw his temporary restraining order on future marches or should modify it. As of the close of the Court's business day, Judge Brown announced that he would hold in abeyance his decision and would give it on the morning of April 5, 1968.

The information obtained during April 4, 1968, was furnished to representatives of the 111th Military Intelligence Corps, Third Army, Memphis, Tennessee, as well as to representatives of the Inspectional Bureau, Memphis Police Department.

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

FBI-Withers-1438

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to File No.

Memphis, Tennessee

April 6, 1968

DECLASSIFICATION AUTHORITY DERIVED FROM
FBI AUTOMATIC DECLASSIFICATION GUIDE
DATE 02-23-2012

Title: SANITATION WORKERS STRIKE, MEMPHIS, TENNESSEE

Character: RACIAL MATTERS

Reference: Memorandum prepared at Memphis, Tennessee, dated and captioned as above.

All sources (except any listed below) whose identities are concealed in referenced communication have furnished reliable information in the past.

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

DECLASSIFICATION AUTHORITY DERIVED FROM:
FBI AUTOMATIC DECLASSIFICATION GUIDE
DATE: 12-18-2011

FBI

Date: 4/6/68

Transmit the following in _____ (Type in plain text or code)

CONFIDENTIAL

Via AIRTEL _____ (Priority or Method of Mailing)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI

FROM: SAC, MEMPHIS (157-1092) (P)

SANITATION WORKERS STRIKE,
MEMPHIS, TENNESSEE
RM

CO: Memphis

Re Memphis airtel and LHM dated 4/5/68.

Enclosed herewith for the Bureau are 11 copies, for WFO 3 copies, for Atlanta 3 copies, and for Detroit 2 copies of LHM captioned as above and dated 4/6/68.

Copies are being furnished to U. S. Attorney, Memphis, and U. S. Secret Service, Memphis, as well as to Regional Offices of Military Intelligence.

3 - Bureau (Encs.11)(RM)
3 - Atlanta (Encs.3)(RM)(Info)
(1 - SCLC)
(1 - MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.)
(1 - Washington Spring Project)
2 - Detroit (Encs.2)(RM)
3 - WFO (Encs.3)(RM)
(1 - SCLC)
(1 - MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.)
(1 - Washington Spring Project)
18 - Memphis (1 - 157-1092)
(1 - 157-109, SNCC)
(1 - 157-556, Possible Racial Violence, Major Urban Areas)
(1 - 157-166, SCLC)
(1 - 100-4105, MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.)
(1 - 170-70 Sub, [redacted] (U)
(1 - 100-4528, [redacted]
(1 - 157-1070, [redacted]
(1 - 170-1024, [redacted]

FBI-Withers-1440

WHL:gmh
(29)

(COPIES CONTINUED PAGE 2)

CLASSIFIED & EXTENDED BY
REASON FOR EXTENSION:
CIM. H. 1 - 2, 4, 2
DATE OF REVIEW FOR
DECLASSIFICATION 4/2/88
12/10/81

Sent _____ M Per _____ Special Agent in Charge

CONFIDENTIAL

All paragraphs are unclassified unless marked to the contrary.

70-70-Sub

CONFIDENTIAL

MEMPHIS COPIES CONTINUED:

2 - 157 [redacted]
2 - 157 [redacted]
1 - 157-957, [redacted]
1 - 157-1000, [redacted]
1 - 157-1114, [redacted]
1 - 157-1111, [redacted]
1 - 66-1687 Sub A, Dissemination File

Sources utilized in enclosed LHM are as follows:

Source one is [redacted] (U)

Source two is [redacted]

LEADS:

ATLANTA DIVISION (INFO)

Information copies are being furnished Atlanta in view of the interest of that division in MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR., SCLC, and the Washington Spring Project.

DETROIT DIVISION

AT DETROIT, MICH.

Will advise of any information concerning the so-called Detroit church group urging "Black Militant Groups" as mentioned in enclosed LHM.

FBI-Withers-1441

CONFIDENTIAL

ME 157-1092

CONFIDENTIAL

WASHINGTON FIELD DIVISION

AT WASHINGTON, D. C.

Will search indices re ERNEST SMITH of Washington, D. C., connected with the Race and Religion Division of Methodist Church.

MEMPHIS DIVISION

AT MEMPHIS, TENNESSEE

Will follow activities at Memphis and report developments.

CONFIDENTIAL

FBI-Withers-1442

DECLASSIFICATION AUTHORITY DERIVED FROM:
FBI AUTOMATIC DECLASSIFICATION GUIDE
DATE 07-08-2017

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to File No.

Memphis, Tennessee
April 4, 1968

Re: SANITATION WORKERS STRIKE,
MEMPHIS, TENNESSEE
RACIAL MATTERS

On April 2, 1968, Lieutenant E. H. Arkin, Inspectional Bureau, Memphis, Tennessee, Police Department, advised that the funeral of Larry Payne, 17-year-old Negro, recent student at Mitchell Road High School, was held without incident at the Clayborn Temple, 280 Hernando, Memphis, Tennessee. Arkin recalled that Payne was the only fatality growing out of the March 28, 1968, riot which began in the Beale Street area of Memphis during a mass march in support of the sanitation workers strike at Memphis, Tennessee, led by Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., President of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC). Lieutenant Arkin pointed out that the Negro community was emotionally concerned because Payne had been shot by a Memphis police officer after fleeing from a Sears Roebuck Store on South Third Street after looting said store and taking a television set.

Lieutenant Arkin said that about 500 people attended the funeral, despite the fact that Clayborn Temple could seat 2500, and that the body was interred immediately after the funeral without incident at the New Park Cemetery in South Shelby County, Tennessee.

FBI-Withers-1443

Lieutenant Arkin stated that another sanitation workers sympathy march was scheduled for downtown Memphis on the afternoon of April 2, 1968.

Also on April 2, 1968, a first source advised it had been reliably determined that Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. along with SCLC aides Ralph D. Abernathy, Bernard Lee, and Andrew J. Young, was due to arrive Memphis, Tennessee, at 10:15 a.m., April 3, 1968, from Atlanta, Georgia, via Eastern Airlines.

11 - Bureau; 3-AT; 3-CG; 2-DE; 3-WFO; 1 - OSI; 1 - G-2; 1 - NISO, Memphis; 1 - NISO, Charleston; 1 - USA, Memphis; 1 - Secret Service, Mem. 1 - 111th MI, Memphis; 1 - 111th MI, Nashville
(7) - Memphis (157-1092)(157-556)(100-4105)(157-100)(170-70 Sub)(157-1123)
157-[redacted]
WHL:gsh (11)

Recorded by SPY on 4/10/68.

170-70-Sub

SANITATION WORKERS STRIKE,
MEMPHIS, TENNESSEE

Also on April 2, 1968, a second source advised that a press conference was held at Clayborn Temple, 280 Hernando, Memphis, Tennessee, which has been the focal point of strike support activity in the sanitation strike, Memphis, which began February 12, 1968; that Reverend Jesse Jackson of the SCLC "Operation Breadbasket" and Reverend Samuel B. Kyles, male Negro, minister at Metropolitan Baptist Church, Memphis, and Reverend Edward L. Brown, pastor at Mt. Pisgah CME Church of Memphis were the main spokesmen for the strike support group; and that these three reported that with the influx of SCLC personnel in Memphis during the week beginning April 1, 1968, nightly mass strike support meetings will be resumed, the first to be at Mason Temple (Church of God in Christ) on Mason Street to be held on the night of April 3, 1968, with Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., as the featured speaker. They stated that a mass march would be held Friday, April 5, 1968, to be led by Dr. King and that they would definitely urge school children to participate since the leaders of the strike support group felt that the students' experience in marching with Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., described by them as the greatest living American, would be more educational than being in school. When asked by representatives of the press if King would personally march, Jackson replied that King might not march but he refused to elaborate.

When asked if the SCLC group would violate a possible injunction against the march, Jackson replied, "The white man has already enjoined the black man to the ghetto and the white man doesn't need to validate it by sending us a piece of paper."

Source two added that Reverend Kyles said that the main problem facing Memphis is not militant black youths, which seems to be the main fear of the Memphis Police Department and white citizenry, but that the main problem is "white racism." He referred to the recent report of the President's Commission on Civil Disorders which emphasized that white racism was responsible for many of the race riots and racial disturbances which had been occurring in the United States, particularly in the Summer of 1967.

FBI-Withers-1444

SANITATION WORKERS STRIKE,
MEMPHIS, TENNESSEE

Source two pointed out that all of the Negro leaders are now using the term white racism as being responsible for the plight of the Negroes in Memphis, Tennessee, and that this has a highly emotional appeal, in his opinion, to the mass Negroes.

Source two stated that Reverend Edward L. Brown stated that he was in charge of the committee of Memphis Negroes aimed at boycotting the two Memphis newspapers, the "Commercial Appeal," morning paper, and the "Press-Scimitar," afternoon paper, both owned by the Scripps-Howard newspaper chain, and that the boycott so far has been successful but that the committee will send task forces into all areas of the Negro neighborhoods to insist that under no circumstances should the Negroes subscribe to or purchase copies of the above two papers. He pointed out that one of the main contentions on the part of the Negroes is the fact that the "Commercial Appeal" continues to print the comic political editorial each captioned, "Hambone," which depicts an elderly Negro man voicing various philosophical sentiments in what he considers to be "Uncle Tom racist language." He stated also that another contention on the part of the Negroes and a bone of dissent is the fact that both papers will identify persons arrested in Memphis by race and that they resent this.

Source two advised that Reverend Kyles talked at length concerning the mass receipt of Negro complaints throughout the community of what they called Memphis police brutality resulting from the March 28, 1968, riot when young Negro males began looting and committing acts of vandalism in the Beale Street area of Memphis during the March 28, 1968, mass march.

Source two stated that Reverend Jesse Jackson told the newsmen that he was in charge of SCLC "Operation Breadbasket" and explained that this would be a form of secondary boycott on various large manufacturers and distributors of food products. He specifically mentioned immediate targets of the "Breadbasket" as being the Coca Cola Company, Hartz Bread Company, Wonder Bread and Sealtest Milk. He stated that these firms were discriminatory in their hiring practices, were not hiring enough Negroes, and that the few Negroes they had hired were not in key

FBI-Withers-1445

positions. He stated that the group would send task forces into all Negro areas, would contact grocers serving these areas and tell them in no uncertain terms that if they did not immediately cease selling the above products that they, the Negroes, would boycott the stores and not buy anything from them.

Source two pointed out that Jackson said in referring to the Negroes, "All we get from Coca Cola is the taste--while the whites get all the money."

Source two added that Kyles, in justifying their plan to ask school children to stay out of school on the day of the scheduled mass march to be led by King, stated that this would be a most educational factor for the children and that after all the white community saw fit to have a school holiday for such trivial events as the annual Memphis Cotton Carnival, which he described as a social event for the white community.

Source two said that when asked about the possible breakdown of law and order by a continued resumption of mass marches and possible defiance of any court orders, that Reverend Jesse Jackson stated, "We, the Negroes, violate the white man's law every day by our mere existence."

Source two pointed out that a lot of either unemployed Negro youths or Negro truants were hanging around the press conference and were extremely rude and belligerent in their attitudes and that no effort was made on the part of the ministers to curb their activities. He stated that some of the boys were saying, for example, that they ought to come out and burn the Memphis Publishing Company, which is the parent body in Memphis which publishes both the "Press-Scimitar" and the "Commercial Appeal."

FBI-Withers-1446

SANITATION WORKERS STRIKE,
MEMPHIS, TENNESSEE

Also on April 2, 1968, Lieutenant Arkin advised that Memphis city officials were seriously considering the obtaining of a court injunction prohibiting any future mass march to be led by Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., or would possibly seek an injunction specifying the conditions under which such a march could take place and were also considering the resumption of a curfew and of placing strike support leaders under a peace and financial responsibility bond. He pointed out that no definite steps in this direction had been taken, as of April 2, 1968.

Lieutenant Arkin advised that the remainder of the Tennessee National Guard, with the exception of one battery, that being the regular Memphis group, consisting of 293 officers and men, has left Memphis.

He later advised on April 2, 1968, that at approximately 3:05 p.m., 60 sanitation workers and sympathizers all in an orderly fashion departed Clayborn Temple, marching on the sidewalks, carrying placards, and followed their usual parade march from Clayborn Temple to Beale Street, west on Beale to Main Street, and north on Main Street to the Memphis City Hall, where they turned around and reversed their march, terminating at the Temple.

On April 2, 1968, a third source corroborated the fact that the funeral of Larry Payne took place without incident and very unemotional sermons were delivered by Dr. H. Ralph Jackson, head of the Minimum Salary Office of the AME Church and who is the overseer for Clayborn Temple, and by Reverend B. T. Dumas, pastor of Mt. Parham Church, to which Payne and his family belong.

Source three pointed out that it appears that some of the more militant potential troublesome Negro element are beginning to move into the strike situation and that the source has noted that more and more of this type individual is congregating around Clayborn Temple and around the AME Minimum Salary Office at 276 Hernando.

FBI-Withers-1447

SANITATION WORKERS STRIKE,
MEMPHIS, TENNESSEE

Source three stated that recently an individual has shown up by the name of Theodore Manuel, a male Negro, about 30 years of age, of medium height, and with medium brown skin, who has been challenging various people who show up around the Temple, particularly newsmen. He has threatened some newsmen and has bragged that while he originally lived in Memphis and used to attend Booker T. Washington High School, that he has spent some time in recent years in Detroit, Michigan, and bragged that he was a participant in the Detroit race riot in the Summer of 1967. He further stated that he momentarily expects his brother Eugene Manuel to join him in Memphis. He has surrounded himself with some young troublemakers in Memphis, several of whom have been arrested on one or more occasions by the Memphis Police Department for disorderly conduct and related offenses in connection with the current sanitation strike, such as John Henry Ferguson. Manuel has a full head of hair and has been wearing a gray suit. He indicated that he came to town shortly prior to the March 28, 1968, disturbance in Memphis.

FBI-Withers-1448

SANITATION WORKERS STRIKE,
MEMPHIS, TENNESSEE

On April 2, 1968, the information above which was not received from the Memphis Police Department was furnished to Lieutenant Feathers and Lieutenant E. H. Arkin of the Memphis Police Department and to representatives of the 111th Military Intelligence Corps, Third Army, Memphis, Tennessee.

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

FBI-Withers-1449

FD-35 (Rev. 12-13-56)

CLASSIFICATION AUTHORITY DERIVED FROM
AUTOMATIC DECLASSIFICATION GUIDE
DATE OF 28 2017

FBI

Date: 4/4/68

CONFIDENTIAL

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plain text or code)

Via AIRTEL _____
(Priority or Method of Mailing)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI

FROM: SAC, MEMPHIS (157-1092) (P)

SANITATION WORKERS STRIKE,
MEMPHIS, TENNESSEE
RM

(OO: Memphis)

Re Memphis airtel and LHM dated 4/3/68.

Enclosed herewith for the Bureau are 11 copies, for Atlanta, WFO and Chicago 3 copies each, and for Detroit 2 copies of letterhead memorandum dated and captioned as above.

Copies are also being disseminated to U. S. Attorney, Memphis, and Secret Service, Memphis, and to regional offices of Military Intelligence.

The information set forth in LHM was furnished to WILLIAM BRAY, 111th Military Intelligence Corps, Third Army, Memphis, orally.

3 - Bureau (Encs.11) (RM)
3 - Atlanta (Encs.3)(RM)
(1 - SCLC)
(1 - MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.)
(1 - Washington Spring Project)
3 - Chicago (Encs.3)(RM)
(1 - SCLC)
(1 - MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.)
(1 - Washington Spring Project)
2 - Detroit (Encs.2)(RM)
3 - WFO (Encs.3)(RM)
(1 - SCLC)
(1 - MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.)
(1 - Washington Spring Project)
8 - Memphis

CLASSIFIED & EXTENDED BY SP4
REASON FOR EXTENSION: 12/10/81
FCIM, II, 1-2, 4, 2
DATE OF REVIEW FOR DECLASSIFICATION 4/4/88

All paragraphs are unclassified unless marked to the contrary.

WHL:gmh(1 - 157-1092, Sanitation Workers Strike,etc.)
(22)(ADDITIONAL COPIES LISTED PAGE 2)

Approved: _____ Sent _____ M Per _____
Special Agent in Charge

CONFIDENTIAL

170-70 Sub

FBI-Withers-1450

170-70-Sub-

CONFIDENTIAL

ME 157-1092

MEMPHIS COPIES CONTINUED:

1 - 157-556, Possible Racial Violence, Major Urban Areas
1 - 100-4105, MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.)
1 - 157-166, SCLC
1 - 170-70 Sub, [ME 338-R(Ghetto)] (U)
1 - 157-1125, [redacted]
1 - 157-NEW, [redacted]

1 - 66-1687 Sub A, Dissemination File

Source one is [redacted]

Source two is [redacted] his identity be protected.

Source three is [redacted] (U)

LEADS:

ATLANTA, WFO AND CHICAGO DIVISIONS (INFORMATION)

Copies are being furnished above divisions for information in view of their interest in the SCLC, MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR., and the Washington Spring Project.

DETROIT DIVISION

AT DETROIT, MICHIGAN

Will search indices and conduct credit and criminal checks concerning EUGENE MANUEL and THEODORE MANUEL, JR., aka Theodore George Manuel, Jr., and submit results of thereof to Memphis under the caption, "THEODORE MANUEL, JR., RACIAL MATTERS," with one copy for Memphis file 157-1092, entitled "SANITATION WORKERS STRIKE, MEMPHIS, TENN., RM."

CONFIDENTIAL

FBI-Withers-1451

Source one is [redacted]

Source two is [redacted]

Source three is [redacted]

Information in LHM was furnished to Lt. E. H. ARKIN, Inspectional Bureau, Memphis Police Department, and to WILLIAM BRAY, 111th Military Intelligence, Third Army, Memphis, Tenn.

LEADS:

ATLANTA AND WASHINGTON FIELD DIVISIONS:

Informational copies being furnished in view of the interest of these offices in SCLC, Washington Spring Project, and Poor People's Campaign.

MEMPHIS DIVISION

AT MEMPHIS, TENN.

Will follow and report pertinent developments.

FBI Withers 1452

DECLASSIFICATION AUTHORITY DERIVED FROM:
FBI AUTOMATIC DECLASSIFICATION GUIDE
DATE 07-26-2012

SAC (157-109) 4/17/68

SA WILLIAM H. LAWRENCE

COUNCIL OF SNCC
RM

On 3/26/68 [redacted] advised that JAMES L. BEVEL of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC) had returned to Atlanta the previous Thursday and that some of the youthful followers of Rev. HAROLD MIDDLEBROOK, one of the strike support leaders in connection with the Sanitation Workers Strike, Memphis, Tennessee, who is affiliated with the Community on the Move for Equality (COME), are all young people of high school age, and some of them in order to impress people have put the word Invaders on the back of their jackets. He stated that some of these are known to be connected with the BOP group headed by CHARLES L. CARRAGE and JOHN BURRELL SMITH. He stated that the followers of SMITH and CARRAGE are older and more mature.

He stated [redacted] two possible troublemakers who are not known to be with BOP but who have been arrested on two or three occasions in connection with the sanitation strike, namely JOHN HENRY FERGUSON and THOMAS EDWARD NELSON. These young male Negroes hang around the Clayborn Temple, which is the strike support headquarters. He stated that FERGUSON is a high school dropout and appears to have too much energy and is merely looking for excitement and would be easily influenced by most anyone.

FBI-Withers-1453

He stated that in recent conversation with CHARLES L. CARRAGE, CARRAGE keeps using the term "controlled violence" and has indicated that he has some contacts all over town. He stated that CARRAGE said his biggest problem is lack of communications with people, no cars, no finances, and no means with which to readily move about and get in touch with people.

1-157-109
1-157-1002 - Sanitation Workers Strike, Memphis, Tenn.
1-157-[redacted]
1-157-1057 - Invaders
1-157-[redacted]
1-170-70-Sub - MM 338-S (Ghetto)
1-100-4528 - [redacted]
WHL:wp (7)

170-70-Sub

INDEXED
SERIALIZED FILED
APR 17 1968
FBI — MEMPHIS

DECLASSIFICATION AUTHORITY DERIVED FROM:
FBI AUTOMATIC DECLASSIFICATION GUIDE
DATE 03-09-2012

SAC (157-1067) 5/7/68

SA WILLIAM H. LAWRENCE

BLACK ORGANIZING PROJECT, (BOP), aka.
RM

On 5/1/68 [redacted] orally advised SA WILLIAM H. LAWRENCE as follows:

Around 4/29/68 RICHARD NEELY of 531 E. McLemore, brother of Black Organizing Project (BOP) member DON NEELY who lives with RICHARD NEELY, commented that DON NEELY is having some trouble with his draft board, ostensibly in Memphis. Someone, possibly BOP leader CHARLES L. CABBAGE, has taken up his situation and allegedly recently, in late April, 1968, took him to Nashville, possibly to Southern Student Organizing Committee (SSOC) headquarters or some similar anti-draft group.

Someone in this group put NEELY up in a Holiday Inn paying all his expenses. He was then allegedly taken to Atlanta, Georgia, possibly to SNCC or some anti-draft group. RICHARD NEELY added that CHARLES CABBAGE has just returned to Memphis from a trip, allegedly to Nashville, New York, New York, and Atlanta, Ga. Now both CABBAGE and DON NEELY are wearing peace symbols, a circular disk with a "Y" insignia in the center, looking not unlike a swept-back winged plane.

1 - 157-1067
1 - 170-70 Sub (ME 338-R)(Ghetto)
1 - 157-1114 [redacted]
1 - 100-4046 (SSOC)
1 - 100-4528 [redacted]
1 - 157-109 (SNCC)
1 - 157-987 [redacted]
WHL:gmh
(7)

170-70-Sub- [redacted]

On or about 4/25/68 informant saw JOHN BURRELL SMITH and some unidentified "Invaders" running off the "Invaders" Mimeograph throwaway, the cover of which showed a Negro shooting a machine gun. They used the Mimeograph machine in the Minimum Salary Office of the AME Church located at 276 Hernando, Memphis.

The Director of the office, Dr. H. RALPH JACKSON, was out of town at the time. JOHN B. SMITH claimed he had JACKSON's permission to print them.

FBI-Withers-1455

DECLASSIFICATION AUTHORITY DERIVED FROM:
FBI AUTOMATIC DECLASSIFICATION GUIDE
DATE 07 09 2012

SAC (157-1067) 5/13/68

SA WILLIAM H. LAWRENCE

BLACK ORGANIZING PROJECT (BOP), aka.
RM

Re Photographs of ROSETTA MILLER.

On 3/12/68 [redacted] furnished two photographs of ROSETTA MILLER, Clerk, U. S. Civil Rights Commission Office, Federal Office Building, Memphis, taken in February, 1968. He said she is the type who is a rumormonger and one who will give aid and comfort to the black power groups.

These photographs are retained in the 1A Section of 157-1067.

1 - 157-1067
(1) - 170-70 Sub (ME 338-R(Ghetto)
WHL:gmh
(2)

170-70-Sub

MAY 13 1968

OPTIONAL FORM NO. 10
MAY 1962 EDITION
GSA GEN. REG. NO. 27

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : SAC (157-1067) DATE: 5/13/68

FROM : SA WILLIAM H. LAWRENCE

SUBJECT: BLACK ORGANIZING PROJECT (BOP), aka.
RM

On 4/16/68 [redacted] orally advised SAs HOWELL S. LOWE and WILLIAM H. LAWRENCE as follows:

JAMES ELMORE PHILLIPS, JR., LeMoyne College senior and Black Organizing Project (BOP) leader, checked into Room 310 of the Lorraine Motel on the night of 4/15/68. He wants to see the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC) staff, particularly the new President, RALPH ABERNATHY, in an effort to get financial support from SCLC for himself and for BOP. With PHILLIPS in Room 310, on the night of 4/15/68, were other BOP leaders, VERDELL BROOKS, CHARLES HARRINGTON and CHARLES S. BALLARD.

Informant has learned that EDWINA JEANETTA HARRELL, 2418 Gentry, MSU student and BOP leader, is no longer working in the office of Attorney JAMES SWEARENGEN, 322½ Beale Street, and is now working doing secretarial work for CORNELIA CRENSHAW, an eccentric Negro woman, former Memphis Housing Authority (MHA) Manager of Dixie Homes, a bitter political enemy of A. W. WILLIS, JR., and currently working with Community on the Move for Equality (COME) and American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees which is now attempting to organize MHA employees and City Hospital employees. CRENSHAW stays at the CME Minimum Salary Office.

1 - 157-1067 (BOP)
1 - 157-1000 [redacted]
1 - 157-166 (SCLC)
1 - 157-1116
1 - 157-1019
1 - 170-1024
1 - 157-1070
1 - 157-1023
1 - 157-1121
1 - 170-98 ([redacted]
1 - 157-1152
1 - 157-938 ([redacted]
1 - 170-70 Sub (ME 338-R (Ghetto)
WHL:gmh
(13)

170-70-Sub

SEARCHED
SERIALIZED
MAY 14 1968
FBI — MEMPHIS

FBI-Withers-1456

DECLASSIFICATION AUTHORITY DERIVED FROM:
PER AUTOMATIC DECLASSIFICATION GUIDE
DATE 07-10-2012

SAC (157-1067) 5/21/68

SA WILLIAM H. LAWRENCE

BLACK ORGANIZING PROJECT (BOP),
aka
RM

On 5/8/68 [redacted] orally advised SA WILLIAM H. LAWRENCE as follows:

On 5/7/68 DON NEELY, a Negro male, who is a self-admitted Black Organizing Project (BOP) member who lives at 531 E. McLemore with his older brother, RICHARD NEELY, approached [redacted] wanting him to obtain a series of photographs of the late MARTIN LUTHER KING JR. at 50¢ each. Thereafter, NEELY and his BOP associates will canvass all merchants in Negro areas and sell these photographs to the merchants for "whatever the traffic will bear," under the theory that if these merchants place the photographs in the store windows Negroes will not break the windows or loot. It is plainly and simply, according to the informant, a "protection racket" and "shakedown."

Source is certain NEELY procured the idea from the fact that militant Negroes are engaged in the same activity in Washington, D. C.

Source has not heard of the new interracial pressure movement purportedly being formed by MSU student LAURA INGRAM and by EDWARD M. "TED" CARTER, tow boat deckhand residing 3710 Northwood, and by Rev. GRANT HARVEY, employee of AME's minimum salary office, and his assistant, and by CARTER's Negro girlfriend, MURIEL PATTERSON.

Source said GRANT HARVEY is [redacted] He is a brilliant typist

1 - 157-1067
1 - 157-566, possible Racial Violence, Major Urban Areas
1 - 170-70-Sub, ME 338-R(Ghetto)
1 - 100-[redacted]
1 - 157-[redacted]
1 - 157-[redacted]
1 - 157-1114, [redacted]
WHL:LF
(7)

170-70-Sub [redacted]

and a good speller but unpredictable. He is a minister and did have an AME church in Kentucky. [redacted] was recalled to Memphis. He works for Dr. H. RALPH JACKSON, Director of AME Minimum Salary Division. He possibly is married. He id a big "buddy" of HAROLD A. MIDDLEBROOK and a young AME minister, (FNU) LITTLE, possibly FRED LITTLE, who lives with his father, FRED LITTLE, on Greenwood St. LITTLE [redacted]

With regard to TED CARTER's girlfriend, source knows little of her. She is about 24 years of age, thin and attractive. She is not from Memphis and spends a lot of time at the minimum salary office.

Source has learned that American Federation of State, County & Municipal Employees Union will now financially subsidize COME (Community on the Move for Equality), the Negro ministerial group, in order to induce COME to help the union organize school board employees, Memphis Housing Authority, City Park Commission and City Hospital employees. The NAACP is bitterly opposed to this and is jealous, feeling that in the process it will lose its hold on the Negro community.

FBI-Withers-1458

DECLASSIFICATION AUTHORITY DERIVED FROM
FBI AUTOMATIC DECLASSIFICATION GUIDE
DATE 03-09-2012

SAC (157-1067) 5/23/68

SA WILLIAM H. LAWRENCE

BLACK ORGANIZING PROJECT (BOP), aka.
RM

On 3/14/68 [redacted] orally advised SA WILLIAM H. LAWRENCE as follows:

Informant saw BOP leader CHARLES L. CABBAGE on the night of 3/13/68. CABBAGE had just returned from Atlanta, Ga., claiming he had gone there for advice and guidance. He did not elaborate. He was with EDWINA HARRELL, BOP leader at MSU.

He wants to approach National Business League leader LEONARD SMALL about getting BOP funded and supported.

CABBAGE tried to call Rev. JAMES MORRIS LAWSON, JR., Negro, Pastor of Centenary Methodist Church, saying he resented a statement in the "Commercial Appeal" saying that LAWSON controlled the Memphis black community. CABBAGE was going to challenge LAWSON in this regard. His ego led him to believe he, CABBAGE, controlled the black community.

CABBAGE said he is heading a drive to organize Negro high school students into the BOP.

He met a (FNU) MILLER, Negro student, a female who is very attractive, from Southside High School. He got her phone number and quizzed her as to how he could organize at Southside High School.

1 - 157-1067
1 - 170-70 Sub (MK 338-R(Ghetto)
1 - 100-4528 ([redacted]
1 - 157-1070 ([redacted]
1 - 170-98 ([redacted]
1 - 157-957 ([redacted]
1 - 157-556 (Possible Racial Violence, Major Urban Areas)

WHL:gmh
(7)

170-70-Sub [redacted]

It was learned that EDWINA HARRELL's mother works at the Memphis Area Project (MAP) - South office, an anti-poverty agency, under the Memphis War on Poverty Committee. She is a secretary there. Her boss is AUTRY PARKER.

A new disk jockey at Radio Station WDIA, BOB HICKS, just arrived in Memphis from Atlanta, Ga. He met EDWINA and CABBAGE and in conversation seemed to know a lot of people they know. EDWINA wants to establish contact with him. CABBAGE said that he has been purposely staying in the background, but if necessary he will come out into the open.

[redacted] carried EDWINA HARRELL and CABBAGE to JOHN B. SMITH's apartment at 1644 Hanauer, Apt. 2.

FBI-Witners-1460

DECLASSIFICATION AUTHORITY DERIVED FROM
FBI AUTOMATIC DECLASSIFICATION GUIDE
DATE 03-02-2012

SAC (157-1067) 5/20/68

SA WILLIAM H. LAWRENCE

BLACK ORGANIZING PROJECT (BOP), aka
RM

On 5/8/68 [redacted] orally advised SA WILLIAM H. LAWRENCE as follows:

On 5/8/68 in vicinity of Clayborn Temple AME Church, where Memphis segment of SCLC sponsored Poor People's Campaign left via Greyhound buses, JOHN BURRELL SMITH, one of the leaders of Memphis Black Power group, Black Organizing Project (BOP), the umbrella group, of which the Invaders is a cell, commented that BOP and Invaders is getting a headquarters, namely a store front at 342 Beale Street, Memphis, which location, until 4/1/68, was occupied by Chop Suey Restaurant operated by Chinese SING JEW, who still lives upstairs at 342½ Beale. It is one door removed from the Harlem House. JOHN B. SMITH said it would be used for BOP and Invaders headquarters and meeting place. He claimed they would publish a Black Power newspaper from this address; in fact, he said that he had told JOHN HENRY FERGUSON and THEODORE MANUEL and other young BOP and Invaders followers, who were aboard the SCLC Poor People's March buses en route to Washington, D. C., and which left 5/8/68, to send back stories which the BOP could publish.

[redacted] said the building is owned by PAUL ZERRILLA, who operates the New Daisy Theater around 320 Beale. The City Directory, 1967 issue, lists WILLIAM P. ZERILLA, manager, New Daisy Theater, residence 1338 North Parkway, and shows PAUL ZERILLA, retired, residence 1305 North Parkway.

1-157-1067
1-157-556 - Possible Racial Violence, Major Urban Areas
1-170-70-Sub - MK 338-R (Ghetto)
1-157-957 - [redacted]
1-157-1190 - Poor People's Campaign
1-157-166-SCLC
1-100-4394 - [redacted]
WHL:wp
(7)

170-70-Sub
SEARCHED ... INDEXED ...
SERIALIZED ... FILED ...
MAY 23 1968
FBI — MEMPHIS

FBI Withers 1461

ME 157-1067

With regard to information furnished by Police Department source MAX on 3/8/68 that former BOP organizer COBY VERNON SMITH was threatening a Mrs. DREIFUS to give financial aid to Black Power or have the town burned, [redacted] said this is probably Mrs. FRED or JED DREIFUS, whose husband or son operates Dreifus Jewelers. She is very active in inter-racial activities, comes to nearly all public inter-racial meetings. She has a son of high school age. Both have done a lot of work in support of sanitation workers' strike and the son went with some Negro boys to Atlanta on 4/9/68 to attend funeral of MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.

FBI-Withers-1462

DECLASSIFICATION AUTHORITY DERIVED FROM:
FBI AUTOMATIC DECLASSIFICATION GUIDE
DATE 10-09-2012

SAC (157-1067) 6/6/68

SA WILLIAM H. LAWRENCE

BLACK ORGANIZING PROJECT (BOP)
RM

On 5/22/68 [redacted] advised SA LAWRENCE that one can no longer distinguish legitimate Black Power advocates, such as the Black Organizing Project (BOP) group in Memphis, by the dress of the average Negro male or female. He pointed out that until a few months ago, the only Negroes who wore tikis, the African symbols, around their necks, dark glasses and Afro natural hairdos would usually be legitimate Black Power advocates. He stated that during the Spring of 1968 and particularly since the death of MARTIN LUTHER KING JR., adult, as well as teenage Negro males, are as a fad and as a symbol of their so-called black pride letting their hair grow long and wearing tikis, also known as amulets. He stated this has become a big commercial venture now and that many commercial firms are exploiting this so-called black pride concept.

He stated that only recently one of the large department stores in Memphis, the J. B. Hunter Store, ran a half-page ad on African art and tikis and a Negro male by the name of (PNU) LANCE has established a small business on N. 2nd St., LANCE being an artist and sculpturer by tradeand training, and LANCE is turning out tikis through molds, which he is selling for not less than $1.25 each. LANCE is not a Black Power advocate but is merely attempting to make money from this, and LANCE recently told informant that WATSON PALMER GUNTER, 1749 Foster, who is also an artist by training, had been approached by LANCE to work with him in this project, but GUNTER was too lazy to even make a few dollars. He stated GUNTER is living with his father, who is a fine old man, and is merely sponging off his father. LANCE stated that GUNTER's wife MAXINE GUNTER, who is a Black Power advocate along with her husband, was a sincere Black Power advocate, but she recently left GUNTER and went back to her home in Richmond, Virginia, because GUNTER would not work and provide her with clothes and other necessities of life.

1 - 157-1067
1 - 170-70-Sub, ME 338-R(Ghetto)
1 - 100-4569, [redacted]
1 - 100-4573,
WHL:LF
(4)

SEARCHED SERIALIZED INDEXED JUN 6 1968 FBI - MEMPHIS

170-70-Sub

FBI Withers 1463

Informant recently saw GUNTER who indicated to him that he was not doing anything and talked in vague generalities about possibly opening an African art studio of some sort in Memphis.

Informant also learned that a Mr. (FNU) JAMES, President, Klondyke Civic Club, recently saw GUNTER and did not realize GUNTER is one of the BOP leaders in Memphis and close associate of such leaders as JOHN BURRELL SMITH and CHARLES L. CABBAGE, that JAMES knew GUNTER as a boy in the Vollintine and Klondyke area of Memphis and made the mistake of inviting GUNTER to bring some of his associates to the new Klondyke Civic Club house which was recently built. Now JAMES has learned that GUNTER is a BOP leader and is afraid that GUNTER will attempt to use the Klondyke Civic Center for future BOP activities.

FBI-Withers-1464

FBI/DOJ
FOIA/PA
DATE 07-09-2012

OPTIONAL FORM NO. 10
MAY 1962 EDITION
GSA GEN. REG. NO. 27
5010-108

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : SAC (157-1067) DATE 7/5/68

FROM : SA WILLIAM H. LAWRENCE

SUBJECT: BLACK ORGANIZING PROJECT (BOP), aka
RM

On 6/14/68 [redacted] orally advised SA's HOWELL S. LOWE and WILLIAM H. LAWRENCE that the Black Organizing Project people in Memphis, headed by CHARLES LAVERNE CABBAGE, may go to Washington, D. C., 6/19/68, to participate in the Poor People's Campaign march headed by the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, and are trying to get a ride with RICHARD NEELY of 521 East McLemore, who has a yellow Buick and whose brother DON is a member of BOP. RICHARD NEELY is on vacation and works for the KB Photo Supply. JOHN B. SMITH has recently been driving the green and cream Cougar owned by his girlfriend, MARVA CUNNINGHAM.

SCLC is trying to get JAMES BEVEL back to Memphis to stimulate interest in the 6/19/68 march.

1-157-1067 - BOP
1-157-556 - Possible Racial Violence, Major Urban Areas
1-170-70-Sub - MK 338-R (Ghetto)
1-157-957 - [redacted]
1-157-1253 - [redacted]
1-157-1104 -
1-157- -
1-157-1190 - Poor People's Campaign
1-157-166 - SCLC
1-157-1070 - [redacted]
1-100-4528 -
1-157- -
1-157-1125 -
1-157- -
1-170-1024 -
2-170-New -
1-157- - COME
1-157- - [redacted]
WHL:wp
(19)

170-70 Sub
SEARCHED ____ INDEXED ____
SERIALIZED ____ FILED ____
JUL 8 1968
FBI — MEMPHIS

One of the local leaders in the SCLC campaign is BISHOP TROTTER, who is no kin to the TROTTER who ran for City Council. BISHOP TROTTER is one of two brothers raised in the Binghampton section of Memphis. His sister is married to a Rev. DREW in Clarksdale, Mississippi, who is a member of the Executive Board of SCLC and has been active in civil rights activities in Mississippi. Both of the TROTTER brothers are particularly close to HERMAN O'NEAL, a football coach at Lester High School who has been actively working in behalf of the SCLC campaign. BISHOP TROTTER was one of those Negroes who was beaten by the police during the 3/28/68 race riot. He was one of those people who was in the Big M Cafe following the riots.

BISHOP TROTTER has been going to college some place. He is about 23 to 24 years of age, and he has a brother who is a minister in either the CME or AME Church.

BOP member EDWINA JEANETTA HARRELL is not working.

CHARLES L. CABBAGE, head of the BOP, stated that he is looking for a lot of money for his organization from three sources, including the Memphis War on Poverty Committee, plus two other sources, probably private sources, in the form of grants.

CHARLES CABBAGE and his cohort, JOHN B. SMITH, think that WASHINGTON BUTLER, a Negro who is head of the WOPC, is stalling them and does not want to give them any money or support.

Informant advised that WASHINGTON BUTLER belongs to the Monumental Baptist Church, pastored by Rev. S. B. KYLES, who is active on behalf of SCLC, and that CABBAGE and JOHN B. SMITH indicate that they get more support from some of the young white workers in WOPC than they do from WASHINGTON BUTLER.

CABBAGE is busily out trying to recruit members into the Invaders and the BOP group.

West Tennessee Director of the Tennessee Council on Human Relations GERALD FANION recently got a job for one of the Invaders and BOP troublemakers JOHN HENRY FERGUSON working in behalf of public relations for the Union Protective Insurance Company on Mississippi Boulevard headed by HAROLD WHALUM. He just got the job on or about 6/12/68 or 6/13/68.

FBI Withers 1466

On 6/13/68 FERGUSON was with informant when they ran into one WARREN LEWIS, a barber with a shop on North Thomas Street around 887 Thomas across from the Loeb's complex on North Thomas Street, and FERGUSON talked to some length with WARREN LEWIS and later told informant that WARREN LEWIS has a group in North Memphis known as the Black Knights, which is a part of the city-wide BOP group, and that CHARLES CABBAGE has also developed a cell of BOP, name not known, in the Douglass area of Memphis, which would be in northeast Memphis.

Informant stated that WARREN LEWIS is a clean-cut male Negro about 30 years of age, about 5' 10", thin, is an active member of the Pentacostal Church of God in Christ, of which Bishop J. O. PATTERSON is the pastor, he being the father of J. O. PATTERSON, JR., member of the Memphis City Council. WARREN plays drums for the choir in the Pentacostal Church of God in Christ, has always been active with young people, has a good public relations image, and allegedly lives in North Memphis.

RICHARD NEELY definitely wants to go to Washington on 6/19/68 march and wants to get a car load. He is the older brother of DON NEELY. The NEELYs have another brother, who is somewhat younger than RICHARD but still older than DON, who just returned from the U. S. Army, where he allegedly served in Korea. He is a big husky young man and it is not known whether he will show any interest in the BOP movement.

JOHN HENRY FERGUSON told informant that he (FERGUSON) and HAROLD WHALUM have an appointment to see Chief of Police HENRY LUX and Police Director FRANK HOLLOMAN at 10:00 a.m., 6/14/68, in an effort to set up a community relations program with the Memphis Police Department in conjunction with JOHN HENRY FERGUSON and the Union Protective Life Insurance Company and that GERALD FANION had sold FERGUSON on this idea. FANION wants FERGUSON to get experience, and then FANION promised to put FERGUSON to work for the West Tennessee Chapter of the Tennessee Council on Human Relations.

JOHN B. SMITH and CHARLES CABBAGE are trying to get a new apartment, as the apartment at 1644 Hanauer, Apt. 2, of JOHN SMITH is too small.

Another BOP leader, CHARLES S. BALLARD, Owen College student, who lives at 1830 Kansas, loafs a lot at the Harlem House in the 300 block on Beale Street.

FBI-W thers-1467

Informant has learned reliably that Bishop B. JULIAN SMITH, aka Julian B. Smith, head of the CME Church for Arkansas and Tennessee, and who is a member of the Board of Directors of the Community on the Move for Equality (COME), has told his ministers to be aloof and circumspect with regard to the Invaders and BOP as he does not trust them.

With regard to the rumor that BOP member CLINTON ROY JAMERSON, former Owen College student, may be going to run for City Councilman in Memphis, informant stated that there could be some truth to this in that JAMERSON's mother is particularly close to Mrs. ALMA MORRIS, wife of CHARLEY MORRIS, on Alaska Street, CHARLEY MORRIS being an insurance man and unsuccessful candidate for City Commission in the last election. They are also particularly close to Mrs. KATIE SEXTON, wife of a minister, and the SEXTONs and MORRISes and Mrs. JAMERSON recently formed a JOHN F. KENNEDY Democratic Club in the Klondyke area of Memphis to compete with the Shelby County Democratic Club, which primarily is run by the NAACP, and that this group will try to promote a bus to Washington in connection with the 6/19/68 march.

J. O. PATTERSON, JR., also wants a bus to go to Washington and will use this for political purposes. GERALD FANION stated that he is going to Washington for the march.

Also on 6/18/68 [redacted] advised that the SCLC met at the Lorraine Motel on Mulberry Street on the night of 6/17/68 and (FNU) COTTONREADER, Field Director of SCLC in the State of Mississippi, brought about 18 to 20 young male Negroes with him, ostensibly from one of the two Negro colleges in Holly Springs, Mississippi. This group will be marshals in the parade in Washington on 6/19/68. The group is definitely running short of money and desperately needs $1,077 for a bus to take COTTONREADER's group to Washington to leave about 6/18/68. Some of the Negro undertakers, along with WALTER LEE BAILEY, operator of the Lorraine Motel, have promised them money. COTTONREADER stated that his group is prepared to stay in jail six to seven weeks if necessary in connection with some of the protest activities of SCLC in Memphis.

Informant also learned definitely that CHARLES L. CABBAGE, RICHARD NEELY, and DON NEELY are going to Washington in a yellow convertible, 1966 model Buick, owned by RICHARD NEELY and that they want to participate in the 6/19/68 march

and then possibly go on to New York City to see someone there about possible franchises to sell and distribute black art in the Memphis, Tennessee, area.

On behalf of Capt. J. G. RAY and Lt. E. H. ARKIN of the Memphis Police Department, it was indicated to [redacted] recently that OREE McKENZIE was thought to be a PD informant. This was done to divert attention from the suspicion of [redacted] the PD informant now in existence.

[redacted]

The SCLC had a festival at the Paradise Club around 6/14/68 and the BOP group and Invaders were particularly jealous of this as all the BOP wants is action and they do not want to do anything constructive. HERMAN O'NEAL and some of the other Negro school teachers of Memphis have been actively trying to obtain money for the SCLC to go to Washington, D. C., and a recent group of strange Negroes has been in Memphis wearing green berets or bush-type hats with leopard-skin bands and also wearing green T-shirts, going to various merchants doing business with Negro people, attempting to obtain money to support buses to Washington, D. C. A local female Negro singer, ARLENE SANDERS, aka Andrea, has been with some of these people, and she has been particularly with two young militant looking men wearing the green hats. Informant did not know any further details.

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DATE 03-09-2012

OPTIONAL FORM NO. 10
MAY 1962 EDITION
GSA GEN. REG. NO. 27
5010-106

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : SAC (157-1067) DATE: 7/9/68

FROM : SA WILLIAM H. LAWRENCE

SUBJECT: BLACK ORGANIZING PROJECT (BOP), aka
RM

On 6/11/68 [redacted] advised that he had learned that JOHN B. SMITH had been arrested for loitering in the vicinity of the Harlem House on Beale Street on the night of 6/10/68, that some of the associates of JOHN SMITH in the Invaders had come and claimed that he was at the Harlem House around 11:00 or 11:30 p.m., some police officers told JOHN and some others who were loitering in the area to break it up and move on, and when JOHN argued with them and refused to obey their order, they arrested him and charged him with loitering. HURLEY GIBSON, close associate of JOHN, contacted informant, was excited and wanted informant to help get JOHN out of jail.

Also, HURLEY obtained the services of CHARLES S. BALLARD, another member of the Invaders, and they tried to get Dr. H. RALPH JACKSON, Director of the Minimum Salary Office of the CME Church, 276 Hernando, and leader in the Community on the Move for Equality (COME) group, to make bond for JOHN and get him out of jail.

They could not locate Dr. JACKSON, and informant then tried to call Rev. MALCOM D. BLACKBURN, who works with JACKSON in the Minimum Salary Office and is Pastor of the Clayborn Temple, CME Church, 280 Hernando.

1-157-1067 - BOP
1-170-70-Sub - ME 338-R (Ghetto)
1-157-957 - [redacted]
1-157-1126 -
1-157-1114 -
1-157-1070 -
1-170-1024 -
1-157-1111 -
1-157- -
1-157-1125 -
1-157- - COME
WHL:wp
(11)

170-70 Sub [redacted]
SEARCHED ___ INDEXED ___
SERIALIZED ___ FILED ___
JUL 11 1968
FBI—MEMPHIS

FBI-Withers-1470

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DATE: 10-10-2012

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OPTIONAL FORM NO. 10
MAY 1962 EDITION
GSA GEN. REG. NO. 27
5010-104

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : SAC (157-1308) DATE: 7/26/68

FROM SA WILLIAM H. LAWRENCE

SUBJECT: COMMUNITY ON THE MOVE FOR EQUALITY (COME)
RM

On 6/27/68 [redacted] orally advised SA's HOWELL S. LOWE and WILLIAM H. LAWRENCE as follows:

(Note information herein furnished to Lt. E. H. ARKIN, Intelligence Bureau, Memphis Police Department, 7/3/68.)

1-157-1308 - COME
1-170-70-Sub - ME 338-R (Ghetto)
1-157-556 - Possible Racial Violence, Major Urban Areas
1-157-1067 - BOP
1-100-4528 [redacted]
1-170-98 - [redacted]
1-170-1104 - [redacted]
1-170-1114 - [redacted]
1-157-166 - SCLC
1-157-1312 - Black Knights
1-100- - [redacted]
1-157-1092 - Sanitation Workers Strike
1-157-957 - [redacted]
1-157-1230 - [redacted]
1-157-1229 - [redacted]
1-170-1024 - [redacted]
1-157-1173 - [redacted]
1-157-1000 - [redacted]
1-157-1019 - [redacted]
1-170-1040 - [redacted]
1-157-1292 - [redacted]
1-157- - [redacted]
1-157-1070 - [redacted]
2-157-New - [redacted]
1-157-1125 - [redacted]
1-157- - [redacted]
1-66-1687-Sub - Dissemination
WHL:wp
(28)

b6 b4
b7C b4
b7D -2

b7 b4

170-70-Sub [redacted]
INDEXED
FILED
JUL 29 1968
FBI — MEMPHIS
Lawrence

COME had its formal organizational meeting Tuesday night, 6/25/68, at First Baptist Church, Beale, Pastor Rev. JAMES A. JORDAN. COME leaders H. RALPH JACKSON, Director, Minimum Salary, AME Church, and Rev. JAMES MORRIS LAWSON, JR., had only a few of their supporters there.

CHARLES L. CABBAGE, head of Black Organizing Project (BOP), had 10 or 12 of his supporters there. Rev. JORDAN and CORNELIA CRENSHAW, former Memphis Housing Authority employee, were worried that H. RALPH JACKSON was misusing the COME treasury. Rev. JORDAN and CRENSHAW became semi-allies of CABBAGE and his group, who wanted to turn COME into a "Community Action Group." According to CABBAGE, LAWSON and JACKSON immediately saw they were outnumbered; they felt CABBAGE and his followers presented a threat. CABBAGE said that on 4/15/68 and 6/15/68 COME gave BOP $500 on each occasion and that COME has already paid out $2,000 in attorney's fees and bonds for BOP people such as JOHN B. SMITH and JOHN HENRY FERGUSON, who have been arrested several times in the spring of 1968. COME considers this to be an unnecessary drain on the treasury. Now CABBAGE, et al, are insisting on an additional $500.

JACKSON and LAWSON tried to postpone the meeting a week and wanted to postpone adopting a constitution. They tried to adjourn the meeting. One of the Invaders was Sergeant at Arms and would not let them out, on CABBAGE's orders. Finally JACKSON threatened to call the police and CABBAGE ordered them released. After JACKSON, LAWSON, and their supporters left, CABBAGE, et al, resumed the meeting, supported by some dissident COME people, such as CRENSHAW. CABBAGE claimed COME has $25,000 in treasury and owes all this money to BOP. He said COME gave SCLC $1,000 for Resurrection City but will not spend money in Memphis.

CABBAGE said one of his supporters is ALVIN KING, male Negro, a former policeman, now associated in real estate business with O. W. PICKETT, realtor, Negro, and political supporter of former Memphis Mayor WILLIAM B. INGRAM. KING is running for State Legislature against RUSSELL B. SUGARMON, JR.

CABBAGE said they elected their own slate of COME officers and named Rev. JORDAN as temporary chairman and CORNELIA CRENSHAW as temporary secretary.

He said J. B. TROTTER of Lorraine Street, a Firestone employee, came up with a copy of a constitution, that they read it and adopted it.

FBI-Withers-1103

[redacted] there will now be a big fight for control of COME as JACKSON has the treasury and will not give it up.

On 7/3/68 [redacted] advised that he attended the next COME meeting held on the night of 7/2/68 also at Beale Street Baptist Church; the turnout was large. Rev. JAMES LAWSON and RALPH JACKSON had their followers there, including many Sanitation Department and hospital workers and members of American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees Union, AFL-CIO, headed by organizer, JESSE EPPS, and LEROY CLARK of United Furniture Workers, AFL-CIO. This group held a pre-meeting caucus at Clayborn Temple. They came prepared to control the meeting. This was an "official call meeting of COME."

Despite this, BOP, the Invaders, and CRENSHAW and Rev. JAMES A. JORDAN tried to retain their temporary control of COME. The BOP showed up in mass. Among those recognized were CHARLES BALLARD, CHARLES CABBAGE, BEN BERRY, JAMES PHILLIPS, OREE McKENZIE, MELVIN SMITH, JOHN BURRELL SMITH, CHARLES HARRINGTON, MURRELL McCULLOUGH, EDWINA HARRELL, JOHN HENRY FERGUSON. Rev. L. R. DONSON was temporary chairman. He was unable to control the meeting.

A group of Black Knights, Inc., headed by coordinator WARREN LEWIS, and associates ISSAC HAYES, ROOSEVELT GREEN, and (FNU) COLLINS, an Army veteran, came as observers.

DONSON could not keep JOHN B. SMITH and CABBAGE quiet. They kept yelling obscenities and trying to disrupt the meeting.

Rev. LAWSON set out the agenda.

The BOP kept trying to invoke parlimentary procedure, but finally "threw it to the winds" and became disruptive.

LAWSON tried to explain:

(1) Reason for COME

(2) Reading of the Constitution

(3) Explanation of 6/28/68 incomplete meeting and attempted take-over by disruptive elements

(4) A report of Finance Committee showing $19,060.35 in treasury

(5) Report of Nominating Committee.

H. RALPH JACKSON reported that COME had already given BOP $2,000 in legal aid and bond money, plus $500 for furniture.

CABBAGE tried to elaborate on the money spent, but JESSE EPPS, et al, "cut him off."

JAMES PHILLIPS kept trying to shout down EPPS, who took over chairmanship of the meeting.

CABBAGE challenged JESSE EPPS' right to be there, claiming he was not from Memphis. EPPS claimed he had been duly elected as co-chairman of COME in February 1968 when it was first formed and that Rev. DONSON was the other co-chairman.

O. W. PICKETT supported CABBAGE and BOP.

LEROY CLARK tried to shout JOHN B. SMITH and PHILLIPS down.

EPPS finally gave each person interested three minutes in which to speak re events of 6/28/68 meeting.

Rev. H. RALPH JACKSON spoke for the "old line" COME group, told of the disruption and Invader harassment and intimidation at the 6/28/68 meeting.

CORNELIA CRENSHAW arose, read a list of all present at the 6/28/68 meeting, told how she and BOP had a rump meeting and elected Rev. JAMES A. JORDAN as chairman. She said they were supported by ALVIN KING, Rev. W. L. PORTER, and O. W. PICKETT.

LAWSON spoke; he said that if COME became a permanent organization, it could get $40,000, at $1,300 a month, from some foundation, called Inter-Religious Foundation for Community Organization.

FBI Withers 1105

For a while the Black Knights sat in front. Finally ISSAC HAYES got the floor. He said all present were acting like little children, that he as vice-chairman of Black Knights was invited as a guest and to possibly join COME, but was reluctant to do so if COME was to continue in this bickering vein. The Black Knights, he said, did not want to get into a controversial, dissension torn group.

Also present was a fat male Negro, GEORGE E. PIPKIN, a former Memphian, now living in Illinois. He said he went to Booker T. Washington High School in 1960 or 1961, now has a Black Nationalist movement in Illinois, wore a bright red soft "fez" type cap. He said he was temporarily visiting in Memphis with one HERMAN and GERTRUDE ROBINSON. He said his local phone number was WH 8-5018. He said his "faith" came from Africa, Central Africa.

(1967 City Directory shows one GEORGE E. PIPKIN, wife PAULINE, laborer, IC Railroad, residence 528 East Person, and shows HERMAN ROBINSON, wife GERTRUDE, a machine operator at Southern Cotton Oil Company, residence 2119 Wabash.

At one point in the meeting an SCLC representative, FRANK MITCHELL, a school teacher, clean cut, light skinned, tried to restrain JAMES PHILLIPS, to keep him from intimidating the chairman.

Other Invader or BOB loudmouths were JOHN HENRY FERGUSON and BEN BERRY. FERGUSON wore a Black Power shirt.

JAMES EDWARD SMITH, former CORE worker, now organizing city hospital workers for EPPS' union, was there, as were CRENSHAW and PICKETT supporter TARLESE MATTHEWS and her sister.

H. RALPH JACKSON spoke of any indiscriminate dispersal of money to BOP and Invaders. Rev. H. L. STARKS, who was there, said Rev. JAMES M. LAWSON, JR., gave up a free trip to Czechoslovakia during the sanitation strike, moved that COME help finance his forthcoming trip to World Council of Churches meeting in Sweden.

CHARLES S. BALLARD kept trying to get Rev. DONSON back in as chairman, so he "could use him."

FBI Withers 1106

A scattering of whites were present, including Attorney EDGAR GILLOCK.

GERALD FANION of West Tennessee Chapter, Tennessee Council on Human Relations, was there.

OREE McKENZIE and JOHN B. SMITH and BEN BERRY kept yelling that they would physically assault the COME ministers if the meeting did not go to suit them.

[redacted] said the following COME officers were elected:

"Nominating Committee:
"J. M. Lawson, Jr.
"J. B. Trotter
"William Smith
"Jarrett Atkins
"H. Ralph Jackson
"L. R. Donson
"L. E. Crittenden

"PRESIDENTS (Elect 7 only)
"Rev. L. R. Donson
"Rev. Jasper W. Williams
"Rev. H. L. Starks
"Mrs. Wilkerson
"Dr. E. W. Reed
"Mr. Murray Ervin
"Leroy Clark

"SECRETARY (Elect 1 only)
"Mrs. Irma Laws

"ASSISTANT SECRETARIES (Elect 2)
"William Smith
"Malcolm D. Blackburn

"STRATEGY COMMITTEE CHAIRMAN
"Ezekiel Bell

"CENTRAL COMMITTEE CHAIRMAN
"Rev. James Lawson, Jr.

"ADMINISTRATIVE COMMITTEE CHAIRMAN
"Rev. N. Charles Thomas

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"FINANCE COMMITTEE CHAIRMAN
"Rev. H. Ralph Jackson

"TREASURER
"Rev. Gilbert Patterson

"CENTRAL COMMITTEE (Elect 21 only at least 10 ministers)
"Rev. T. C. Lightfoot
"Mr. J. B. Trotter
"Mrs. Claudette Mabone
"Mr. Thomas Nelson
"Father J. Atkins
"Mrs. Alma Morris
"Rev. P. L. Rowe
"Mrs. Blanche Fanion
"Mr. Harvey Branch
"James E. Smith
"Mrs. Thomas Matthews
"Rev. S. B. Kyles
"Rev. Samuel Herring
"Rev. M. D. Blackburn
"Mrs. Zola Petty
"Rev. Edward Brown
"Mrs. Gertrude Smith
"Squire Jesse Turner
"Rev. Eugene Waller
"Mr. T. O. Jones
"Attorney Otis Higgs

"EACH ORGANIZATION THAT REMAINS A PART CAN ELECT A MEMBER TO THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE."

[redacted] furnished a throw-away issued prior to the meeting preceding the 7/2/68 meeting. It reads as follows:

"COMMUNITY ON THE MOVE FOR EQUALITY
Memphis, Tennessee
June 27, 1968

"Dear Friends:

"A large number of individuals and organizations who joined Community on the Move for Equality (C.O.M.E.) at the meeting held June 25 witnessed a true effort to organize a permanent C.O.M.E. with total community management of its affairs.

"We continue to invite all groups and individuals to join C.O.M.E. We must keep the unity which brought about the Sanitation Workers Victory. Please attend our next meeting:

"Tuesday Night - July 2, 1968 - 8 P M

"First Baptist Church - 379 Beale

"An Election of Officers will be held in a democratic manner with nominations from the floor as all offices of the temporary organization of C.O.M.E. are now vacant.

"The following officers will be elected:

"Seven (7) Presidents - One (1) Secretary and (2) Assistants - Treasurer - Central Committee Chairman - Strategy Committee Chairman - Administrative Committee Chairman - Finance Committee Chairman and twenty-one (21) Central Committee members.

"C.O.M.E. belongs to the community. Please come and choose its leaders.

"Reverend James A. Jordan,
Temporary Chairman

"Cornelia M. Crenshaw,
Temporary Secretary

"(Please make the following announcement in all meetings prior to Tuesday, July 2, 1968. Thank you.)

"All Organizations and individuals are invited to join

"COMMUNITY ON THEMOVE FOR EQUALITY (C.O.M.E.)
"Please attend our next meeting to be held
"Tuesday Night - July 2, 1968 - 8 P M
"First Baptist Church - 379 Beale Street
"An election of officers will be held at this meeting
"WE CAME TOGETHER AND WON VICTORY FOR THE SANITATION WORKERS
"LET US STAY TOGETHER FOR JUSTICE AND JOBS FOR NEGROES

"Reverend James A. Jordan,
Temporary Chairman

"Cornelia M. Crenshaw,
Temporary Secretary"

ME 338-R furnished a copy of a report of the Finance Committee of COME which reads as follows:

"REPORT OF THE FINANCE COMMITTEE
"C. O. M. E.

"We have published the name and amount of all contributors.

"Total Receipts	$347,705.03

"Paid Out

"To the Union for support of workers (AFSCME LOCAL 1733)	$321,000.00
"SCLC	1,000.00
"SCLC	2,300.00
"SCLC (Cedric Moore)	426.00
"Donation to Persons at Resurrection City	900.00
"Tennessee Council Human Relations (refund)	51.38
"Donation to Black Organizing Project	500.00
"Attorney Fee for Black Organizing Project	2,110.00
"MSD - Printing & postage	357.30
	$328,644.68

"TOTAL RECEIPTS	347,705.03
"Total Paid Out	328,644.68
"Balance	19,060.35"

[redacted] furnished a copy of proposed plan of COME which was adopted at the meeting, which reads as follows:

PROPOSED PLAN OF ORGANIZATION FOR COMMUNITY ON THE MOVE FOR EQUALITY

(Tentative)

PREAMBLE

It seems fitting and proper that, at this time, the organizations and individuals now working in the greater Memphis area for the dignity of man, justice and jobs for black people, better living conditions for the poor, quality education for blacks, and at the same time desire to maintain communication between other elements of the community, should more fully manifest their unity in an inclusive co-operating agency and thereby combine their concerns, interests functions, from time-to-time, to focus upon the problems demanding the coporate strength of the entire community.

I. NAME

There shall be an organization which shall be called the Community On The Move For Equality, hereinafter referred to as C. O. M. E.

II. PURPOSE

The Community on the Move for Equality shall be a non-profit corporation, the purpose of which shall be that of:

1. Initiating direct action to secure justice and jobs on a unified basis for black people living in the greater Memphis area.

2. Developing and maintaining unity in the black community by systematically reaching out for black people through existing organizations and groups and bringing the force of their combined commitment to bear upon the problems of the community.

3. Organizing black people and poor people to work toward an end to poverty and cruelty to these elements in our society:

   a. in the area of housing and living conditions
   b. in the area of economic exploitation
   c. in the area of eliminating police brutality

4. Supporting unionization of poor people, black people and the working classes through such efforts as:

a. Leadership development
b. organization on grass roots level
c. mobolizing the community for effective supportive roles
d. raising or causing to be raised funds for these causes.

5. Seeking to bring about a new awareness and concern for politics through a process of education, in an effort to end injustice and build new patterns of urban justice.

6. Encouraging participation in and appreciation for black arts, such as literature, history, poetry, music and painting.

7. Insisting on, through effective means, quality education for black people and a more representative account of the achievements and contributions of black people in this country, by working for:

a. equal educational opportunities
b. inclusive textbooks in the educational system
c. fair treatment in the placement of black teachers and students in the public schools

8. Maintaining lines of communication between the black and white communities with efforts toward solving the problems of percipitus polorization.

9. Fostering and encouraging fellowship and co-operation among the organizations for the purposes set forth in this constitution.

10. Promoting, for the Constituent organizations, such co-operative work as they authorize C. O. M. E. to carry on in their behalf.

11. To hear and consider proposals from member organizations for cooperation and support from C. O. M. E.; said proposals shall be considered on their merits and shall be subject to approval or rejection.

12. Establishing tuition-free schools designed to help children and young people to understand the American society and its history, and to study the arts and culture of black people.

13. Assisting in the development of business enterprizes and co-operative ventures among black people for retailing and marketing purposes.

III. MEMBERSHIP

1. Organizations which accept the purposes of C. O. M. E. as set forth in this Preamble and Constitution, are eligible to membership in C. O. M. E. as a whole and in its various divisional structures: namely, the Central Policy Board, and the various standing committees. Eligible members may include such organizations as the N. A. A. C. P., Urban League, Ministers' Alliance and associations, Civic and Social clubs, fraternities, sororities, poverty, business, labor, political and professional groups.

2. Individuals or groups of individuals who declare their acceptance of this Preamble and Constitution may become members of C. O. M. E., upon their own request, by the voice vote of a majority of the member organizations present and voting at any regular meeting or called meeting of C. O. M. E., when recommended by any of the member organizations or any one of the members of the Central Policy Board.

3. Organizations which are now members or individuals who have been named by their constituent agencies to any previous functioning committees now named in the constitution, upon their acceptance of this Preamble and Constitution, provided that such action is taken not later than the organizing meeting of C. O. M. E., and all other organizations and individuals or groups of individuals who desire to unite with us, shall be charter members of C. O. M. E.

4. Participation of the organizations shall be that of a federation, but shall maintain atonomy as to their organic identity and C. O. M. E. will not attempt to interfere with the atonomy of any organization with regard to their stated policy, governance of any existing traditions or mandates.

5. C. O. M. E. shall not be responsible for debts incurred by member-organizations or individuals, except those which are specifically ordered or directed by a resolution of the Central Committee or the C. O. M. E. organization in an official meeting.

IV. FUNCTIONS

The functions of C. O. M. E. shall include the following:

1. The general oversight and co-ordination of the whole field of the C. O. M. E. organization, its standing committees, auxiliaries and other units.

2. All actions and utterances of C. O. M. E. in representation of the co-operating organizations and individuals.

3. Basic studies in the fields of common interest to the community and the co-operating organizations.

4. The safeguarding for each organization or group the fullest measure of autonomy consistent with presenting a united front and a mutually supporting program.

5. The festering of united fellowship, planning and action among the committees, auxiliaries and other units of C. O. M. E.

6. The relating of C. O. M. E. to other co-operative bodies or groups, either directly or through one or more of the divisions.

7. General relations with the public and with government; either directly or through one or more of the committees, auxiliaries or other units.

8. Festering and development of effective programs and projects in agreement with the Preamble and Purposes of this Constitution.

9. General control of the finances of C. O. M. E. including the preparation and authorization of its annual financial budget.

10. The requests for and acceptance of such funds as may be donated by various benevolent and philanthropic agencies, institutions and individuals for the maintenance and promotion of C. O. M. E.

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V. INCORPORATION

1. The C. O. M. E. organization shall be incorporated under the government of the State of Tennessee, when deemed necessary.

2. Subject to the approval of the Central Committee, other units of C. O. M. E. may be incorporated with the organizing [illegible]

VI. AUTHORITY

1. The C. O. M. E. organization shall have authority

a. To regulate its own proceedings in accordance with its constitution and charter.

b. To elect the necessary officers and members of its staff, remove them for cause and fill vacancies.

c. To buy, acquire, or receive by gift, devise, or bequest, property, real, personal and mixed.

d. To hold, sell, and dispose of property.

e. To secure, appropriate, and administer funds for its work.

f. To sue and be sued.

g. To make general by-laws in harmony with its charter and constitution.

2. C. O. M. E. shall have no authority or administrative control over the member-organizations and affiliates which constitute its membership. It shall have no authority to prescribe a common creed, or form of government, or to limit the autonomy of the organizations cooperating in it.

VII. MEETINGS OF GENERAL ASSEMBLY

There shall be a General Assembly of C. O. M. E., made up to all members, organizations, and individual members. The Assembly must meet at least quarterly. One of the quarterly meetings shall be the annual meeting for the election of officers and the adoption of the budget. Any mass meeting may be designated by the Central Committee as an Assembly meeting. The Central Committee may call an Assembly or ten per cent of the organizations or members can request a call for an Assembly.

VII. OFFICERS:

Presidents - C. O. M. E. shall have seven presidents who are to be elected for two years and who are to come from various segments of the community. At least two of the presidents shall be clergymen, at least one shall be a woman and at least one shall be a young adult (under 25). The president shall preside at Assembly meetings and mass meetings. The presidents shall also interpret C. O. M. E., encourage their groups to action and accept various other assignments from C. O. M. E. In 1968, from persons shall be elected as presidents whose term shall end in 1969; three shall be elected whose term shall end in 1970. In 1969, four shall be elected whose term shall end in 1971. A president can not be re-elected until after they have been out of office for two years.

Secretary - The secretary, to be elected by C. O. M. E. shall be responsible for the minutes of the general assemblies and for notifying members of all meetings. A secretary shall be elected for a two-year term. The secretary can be re-elected for another term but can serve no more than four consecutive years in office as secretary. Two Assistant Secretaries shall be elected biennially by C. O. M. E., upon the nomination of the Central Committee.

Treasurer - The treasurer shall be elected by the General Assembly for two years. A treasurer can be re-elected for a second term but can not serve more than four consecutive years without being out of the post for at least two years. The treasurer should be bonded and shall be responsible for the banking of all money and the writing of checks. The treasurer should have a monthly written report of income, expenditures and balances for the Central Committee and an annual written report for the General Assembly. All checks shall be signed by 2 of 3 (two of three) signatories. An officer may be moved for cause by a 2/3 vote of the body assembled for regular business.

IX. THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY shall also elect a chairman of the following committees: Central, Strategy, Finance and Administration. Each chairman to be elected for two years. A chairman can be re-elected for a second term but can not serve in the same post for more that four years without a separation of two years.

X. STANDING COMMITTEES

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THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF C. O. M. E. shall

plus the staff members who shall be ex-officio members without a vote, the chairman of all standing committees and auxiliaries and the presidents of C. O. M. E. Twenty-one members shall be elected at large by the General Assembly. The other members shall specifically represent certain organizations or segments of the community. The organizations to be represented shall include the N. A. A. C. P., Unity League, Shelby Democratic Club, Bluff City Council, Panhellenic Council, the Masons, and the Black Organizing Project, 9th District Democratic Club, J. C. '8, W. O. M. E. N., etc. The Central Committee shall meet at least monthly. Its primary responsibility is to give overall direction to C. O. M. E. It is responsible only to the General Assembly. The Executive Committee of Central Committee shall be elected by the Central Committee.

STRATEGY COMMITTEE. The Strategy Committee shall have thirty members representing the constituency of C. O. M. E. The Strategy Committee shall be responsible for carrying out all action that C. O. M. E. or the Central Committee sets as targets. The Strategy Committee shall be responsible for demonstrations, mass meetings, public relations (during a campaign), negotiations, recruitment of demonstrators and workers in the cause. Members of the Strategy Committee should become specialists in direct action in other methods for social change. The Strategy Committee shall coordinate all action programs with the auxiliaries. The Strategy Committee is responsible to the Central Committee.

FINANCE COMMITTEE. The Finance Committee shall be made up of fifteen members representing the total constituency of C. O. M. E. The Finance Committee shall supervise all banking and expenditures and shall plan the raising of money and see to it that the treasurer is bonded and in consultation with the Central Committee establish the annual budget. The Finance Committee is responsible to the Central Committee.

ADMINISTRATION COMMITTEE. The Administration Committee shall have fifteen members. This committee shall serve as the Personnel Committee and the committee is responsible for the office and supplies. All employees of C. O. M. E. are to be interviewed by this committee. Their recommendation for hiring shall go to the Central Committee for adoption. This committee shall be responsible to the Central Committee.

XI. AUXILIARIES. Youth, Ministers' Group, W. O. M. E. N., Laymen. These groups were born of the movement and are the integral grass-roots parts of C. O. M. E. They are to be

represented on all standing committees. Their chairmen shall be members of the Central Committee. They shall coordinate their activities through the Strategy and Central Committees.

XII. STAFF.

a. An Executive Secretary, nominated by the Central Committee and confirmed by the General Assembly shall be the chief administrative officer of C.O.M.E., responsible for office management and for carrying out the unity and purpose of C.O.M.E. The salary of this staff person shall be paid by the treasurer from a sum budgeted for this purpose.

b. Director of Action, selected in the same manner as the Executive Secretary, shall be the executive officer for the Strategy Committee, and responsible for all recruitment for action, under the general supervision of the Executive Secretary.

c. Community Organizer

XIII. A nomination committee of 11 members shall be named for the purpose of presenting a slate of officers to the annual election meeting of C.O.M.E.

XIV. CENTRAL OFFICES

1. The Central Committee may establish or discontinue central offices as may be desirable and shall define their functions.

2. Central offices may include in their organizational structures such advisory committees as may be determined by the Central Committee.

XV. AMENDMENTS

Amendments to this Constitution may be proposed at any regular meeting of the General Assembly or at any regular meeting of the Central Committee. Three months' notice, in writing, of any proposed amendment must be given representatives before action is taken. Subject to this provision, action may be taken by the General Assembly at its next quarterly meeting. A two-thirds vote of the representatives present and voting is required for adoption.

ORIGINAL FORM NO. 10
MAY 1962 EDITION
GSA GEN. REG. NO. 27

5010-106

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

DECLASSIFICATION AUTHORITY DERIVED FROM
FBI AUTOMATIC DECLASSIFICATION GUIDE
DATE 02-23-2012

TO : SAC (157-1067) DATE: 8/6/68

FROM : SA WILLIAM H. LAWRENCE

SUBJECT: BLACK ORGANIZING PROJECT
(BOP), aka
RM

On 7/25/68 [redacted] orally advised SA WILLIAM H. LAWRENCE as follows:

BOP leader CHARLES LAVERNE CABBAGE has been confiding to [redacted] in the past few days saying he is very much concerned about the adverse publicity about his being indicted for failure to report for his armed forces induction. He said that his attorney, RUSSELL X. THOMPSON, who represented him when he made bond, will not represent him further without a financial retainer. CABBAGE claims he does not have the money. He badly needs legal financial support and he also wants to get an attorney for BOP member, DON NEELY, who is AWOL from the Army and who wants to legally stay out of the Army.

DON NEELY is frequenting Beale St. while being AWOL. His barber is BENNY MINOR of Johnson's Barber Shop, 333 Beale St. MINOR is not in sympathy with DON's staying out of the Army. NEELY also loafs at the Avalon Pool Room, owned by HENRY JACKSON, and at ROBERT HENRY's pool room at 335 Beale St.

NEELY's brother, RICHARD L. NEELY, who has been working at K-B Photos, aka Fox Photos, North Parkway, has become a devoted BOP member and idolizes CHARLES CABBAGE. RICHARD NEELY is single and has been talking of quitting his job at K-B and working full time for Black Power. He lives with a sister who

1 - 157-1067, BOP
1 - 170-70-Sub, ME 338-R(Ghetto)
1 - 157-556, POSSIBLE RACIAL VIOLENCE, MAJOR URBAN AREAS
1 - 100-4528, [redacted]
1 - 25-14636,
1 - 157-1326,
1 - 157-1114,
1 - 157-1187,
2 - 170-NEW,
1 - 66-1687-Sub, Dissemination
WHL:LF
(11)

170-70-Sub [redacted]

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Lawrence

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is married and lives at 531 E. McLemore. She works at Loeb's Laundry, Madison Ave. HERMAN LEE PREWITT of BOP is last known to live at 363 Driver, Apt. H, and is a big buddy of DON and RICHARD NEELY.

CABBAGE is wearing a lot of new but cheap clothes purchased for him by EDWINA HARRELL, leading female member of BOP.

An employee of the Neighborhood Organizing Project (NOP), heavily staffed by BOP and financed by Memphis War on Poverty Committee, is GEORLDEAN CHRISTIAN, a senior at Tennessee A&I State University, Nashville, where she is an English major. She is extremely fat, so fat that the males show little interest in her, and she is smart and sensible. [redacted] She lives at 1492 Ely. [redacted]

The above information was furnished orally to Lt. E. H. ARKIN, Intelligence Bureau, Memphis PD, on 7/29/68.

FBI-Withers-1472

DECLASSIFICATION AUTHORITY DERIVED FROM:
FBI AUTOMATIC DECLASSIFICATION GUIDE
DATE 02-28-2011

OPTIONAL FORM NO. 10
MAY 1962 EDITION
GSA GEN. REG. NO. 27

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO SAC (157-1067) DATE: 8/6/68

FROM : SA WILLIAM H. LAWRENCE

SUBJECT: BLACK ORGANIZING PROJECT
(BOP), aka
RM

On 7/18/68 [redacted] orally advised SA WILLIAM H. LAWRENCE as follows:

Informant furnished copies of 8X10 photographs taken back in June 1968 of five self-admitted Invaders and Black Organizing Project (BOP) leaders for which they willingly posed. These photographs are of the following:

MURRELL MC COLLOUGH
LARRY LARUE DAVIS
ARTHUR "DOC" NORWOOD
VERDELL BROOKS
JAMES ELMORE PHILLIPS.

1 - 157-1067, BOP
1 - 157-556, POSSIBLE RACIAL VIOLENCE, MAJOR URBAN AREAS
1 - 170-70-Sub, ME 338-R(Ghetto)
1 - 157-1061 [redacted]
1 - 157-1000
1 - 157-1116
1 - 100-4528
1 - 157-1114
1 - 157-957,
1 - 157-166, SCLC
1 - 62-ACLU (American Civil Liberties Union)
1 - 100-4575, [redacted]
1 - 157-1070,
1 - 25-14636,
1 - 157-1263,
1 - 157-955, BLACK POWER INFILTRATION, MEMPHIS WAR ON POVERTY COMMITTEE
2 - 157 [redacted]
1 - 157-1190, POOR PEOPLES CAMPAIGN
1 - 66-1687-Sub, Dissemination
WHL:LF
(20)

170-70-Sub

SEARCHED ..... INDEXED .....
SERIALIZED ..... FILED .....
AUG 7 1968
FBI — MEMPHIS

Lawrence

FBI-Withers-1119

DECLASSIFICATION AUTHORITY DERIVED FROM:
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DATE 02 20 2012

OPTIONAL FORM NO. 10
MAY 1962 EDITION
GSA GEN. REG. NO. 27
5010-106

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : SAC (157-1067) DATE: 8/12/68

FROM : SA WILLIAM H. LAWRENCE

SUBJECT: BLACK ORGANIZING PROJECT (BOP),
aka Invaders
RM

INFO RE JOHN H. FERGUSON & INVADERS

On 8/2/68 [redacted] orally advised SA WILLIAM H. LAWRENCE as follows:

A few days ago Invader and Black Organizing Project (BOP) follower and member JOHN HENRY FERGUSON said he had just returned to Memphis from New York City. He indicated he will be working for the Southern Christian Leadership Conference. He said the story re the fist fight on 7/30/68 at the Neighborhood Organizing Project (NOP) field office, 1310 Florida, operated by Memphis War on Poverty Committee, involving an attack by Invader leader JOHN B. SMITH, EMMETT HOUSE and MELVIN SMITH, who fought WOPC supervisor GEORGE R. HUNT, had been grossly exaggerated. He indicated he had been present. (This fight has been reported in a separate detailed memo for instant file)

1 - 157-1067 (BOP)
1 - 170-70-Sub (ME 338-R Ghetto)
1 - 157- [redacted]
1 - 157-New
1 - 100-4528
1 - 25-14636
1 - 157-1070
1 - 134-493
1 - 134-
1 - 134-511
1 - 157-1114
1 - 157-1326
1 - 100-4518
1 - 170-98
1 - 157-Dead
1 - 157-1238
1 - 157-953 (BLACK POWER INFILTRATION WOPC & NOP)
1 - 134-511 [redacted]
1 - 66-1687 Sub (Dissemination)

170-70-Sub [redacted]
SEARCHED ... INDEXED
SERIALIZED ... FILED
AUG 14 1968
FBI — MEMPHIS

WHL/scp
(19)

FERGUSON has recently been running with a 10th grade male Negro, Manassas High student, (FNU) GARNER, son of Negro radio announcer ROBERT "HONEYMOON" GARNER.

FERGUSON said "I can make more money running the streets than by being tied down to a regular job."

INFO RE LEGAL DEFENSE & MACHINATIONS OF CHARLES L. CABBAGE, HIS INVOLVEMENT WITH PROSTITUTE AND SHOPLIFTER HELEN WASHINGTON

Source added that during the past week BOP leader and founder CHARLES L. CABBAGE, currently under Federal indictment for refusal to report for armed forces induction, has been desperately trying to raise money through legal or illegal means to take a trip to Atlanta, Georgia, and New York, New York, to contact "Draft Resistance groups" in an effort to try to win acquittal when his case comes up in Federal Court. For example, he is milking his girlfriend, EDWINA HARRELL, BOP leader and clerk-typist of NOP-WOPC, for money. She has recently been living with him out of wedlock at Trumpet Motel, South Second Street. She has recently moved some of her "light housekeeping goods - skillets, coffee pot, etc." to a new location in South Shelby County, possibly into home of RICK HENRY TAYLOR, an associate of BOP. TAYLOR was last known to live at 368 McFarland, in Lakeview Gardens Subdivision.

Two young Negro reporters for Tri-State Defender, Negro paper, namely EDWARD JAMES HARRIS, II, and WHITTIER SENGSTACKE, JR., recently drove EDWINA and her goods to the area near TAYLOR's house. Circumstantially, CABBAGE and EDWINA and DON NEELY, BOP member, believed to be AWOL from the Army, may be staying together.

CHARLES CABBAGE has for the past week been courting HELEN WASHINGTON, female Negro, described by informant as a well known [redacted] currently on State parole for shoplifting. CABBAGE told informant he hopes to "con" WASHINGTON into giving him enough money, from her [redacted] earnings, to finance his trip and all or part of his legal defense.

Informant furnished two good photographs of HELEN WASHINGTON, taken in 1967. He said she is about 5 feet 5 inches tall, 112 pounds, about 26 years old, attractive, hair is medium length. CABBAGE is trying to force her to develop a black power "natural hairdo".

FBI-Withers-1474

(She was last arrested in 1968 with one LINDA RUTH DAVIS in connection with shoplifting. She is now on State parole for shoplifting. She was born 5/12/44, is fem Negro, 5'5", 112 lbs.)

INFO RE DON AND RICHARD NEELY

Informant added that DON NEELY and RICHARD NEELY, both of 531 East McLemore, are still in BOP and close followers of CHARLES L. CABBAGE. They are now calling their group the "DOWNTOWN ASSOCIATION". It basically consists of the two NEELYs, EDWINA HARRELL, HERMAN PREWITT, and REUBEN WATTS.

DON NEELY recently made multiple copies of a one page mimeographed sheet in form of: "News Release" dated July 12, 1968, referring to this element of BOP as "Downtown Association". Informant furnished copies thereof. One Xerox copy of same is attached to each copy of this memo.

DON NEELY is still AWOL from the Army. He still frequents the Beale St. haunts of BOP, namely Harlem House, Henry's Pool Room, and Avalon Pool Room, and New Daisy Theatre.

FBI-Withers-1475

RICHARD NEELY has quit his job at KB Photos; still drives his late model yellow Buick - it has what appears to be two bullet holes in the windshield.

RICHARD NEELY now claims he can make more money hustling. Both DON and he were raised in Beale Street area, have a strong affinity for same, and many vice prone contact in the area. RICHARD NEELY is a paradox in this regard. He worked regularly at KB photos for six years and still attends Progressive Baptist Church on Vance Avenue; yet a "Beale Street character" who should be in the "know" recently told informant that RICHARD NEELY has turned to the pimping of at least two Beale Street prostitutes, for a living. Possible corroboration of this is the fact that on the night of 8/1/68 informant saw RICHARD NEELY with two female Negroes who have reputations as prostitutes and dope pushers. One is a very attractive girl who did work at RCA, always wears slacks, and frequents Beale Street; the other is a continuing prostitute. She has a sister who dates a male Negro who works for PAUL VESCOVO at Paul's Tailor Shop, 3rd at Beale.

COMMENTS OF EDWIN CLIFTON SANDERS, III AND RICHARD NEELY RE VIOLENCE

On or about July 28, 1968, EDWIN CLIFTON SANDERS, III, Male Negro, native Memphian, currently theological student at Weslyhan University in Connecticut and a summer interne at Rev. JAMES M. LAWSON's Centenary Methodist Church, was talking with RICHARD NEELY. They both asserted that the Black man can only gain his rights and material possessions through violence and the engagement in guerilla warfare.

EDWINA HARRELL's LETTER FROM PENAL FARM

A few days prior to 8/2/68 EDWINA HARRELL got a letter from a former BOP associate, "CHARLIE MAN", who used to hang out with EDWINA and CABBAGE at Clayborn Temple during Spring 1968 sanitation strike. "CHARLIE MAN" is now an inmate in Shelby County Penal Farm. He is trying to get EDWINA's help in getting a release. In his letter to her he commented that he was sorry to hear that JOHN BURRELL SMITH was breaking away from Invader and BOP leadership, not elaborating. CABBAGE who is now jealous of JOHN B. SMITH, showed obvious resentment at EDWINA's exhibiting this letter to some of her acquaintances.

FBI-Withers-14/6

CABBAGE ATTEMPTING TO GET MONEY FROM REV. NEAL OF WARNER TEMPLE

CABBAGE commented he had recently tried to get Rev. NEAL of Warner Temple, a Negro minister, to get him financial support for his legal defense.

On 8/1/68 above information was orally furnished to Lt. JERRY DAVIS, Intelligence Bureau, Memphis, Tennessee Police Department.

FBI-Withers-1477

NEWS RELEASE
JULY 12, 1968

We of the Downtown Association feel that the affairs which engulf us as black people have grown under the weight of the misinformed; whether this information comes through television, newspaper, bookshelves or the whole news media. And this information, furthermore, operates generally to reinforce traditional attitudes For or Against. We personally say, which attitude has caused us the most pain. So it is necessary that we establish between ourselves and those affairs which engulf us as black people be made clear, so before we can look forward for meaning in any sense, or area we must first be allowed to take a long look back; in looking back and examining our experiences closely, we find tremendous demands and real danger for our social situation but, demagogue of the black community have had to hide from social fabrics and the guns which is personified through the police department which protects this social fabric simply because we have the lack of interest to formulate our personification of protection and affable organizational effort to substain ourselves in the community. But, the Downtown Association is here to elucidate to the elements which denounce the white power structure for its castigation, and mistreatment of black people and that your role is not a vacarious role anymore, for we have established the organization, Downtown Association in NAME which will manipulate our positions to a bicameral base in the community for our defense against the white power structures insurrections, and inflammatory attitudes toward black people. We of the Downtown Association would like to merge in merit with other elements within our black community; if not in merit then with the assertion of one common problem. Our problem is your problem as well, which is the WHITE MAN.

First - Last - Always

Black is Beautiful !!!

DECLASSIFICATION AUTHORITY DERIVED FROM:
FBI INFORMATION DECLASSIFICATION GUIDE
DATE 07-08-2012

SAC (157-1067) 8/12/68

SA WILLIAM H. LAWRENCE

BLACK ORGANIZING PROJECT (BOP), aka
Invaders
RM

Information set out hereafter was disseminated to Lt. JERRY DAVIS, Intelligence Bureau, Memphis PD, on 8/2/68.

On 8/2/68 [redacted] orally advised SA WILLIAM H. LAWRENCE as follows:

EDWINA JEANETTE HARRELL, Negro female, legal residence 2418 Gentry, leader of the Black Student Association (BSA), a cell of Black Organizing Project (BOP), and currently employed by the predominantly BOP staffed War on Poverty Committee Neighborhood Organizing Project (NOP), is busy propagandizing for Black Power.

For example, HARRELL is distributing mimeographed material. She left some with informant on or about 7/31/68, accompanied by a hand-written note reading: "This is something I wanted you to take a look at - See if you can help with these petition." (A xerox of this handwriting specimen of HARRELL is retained in the 1A Section of 157-1070.)

HARRELL had left a mimeographed petition, a xerox copy of this being attached to each copy of this memo.

She also left a BOP mimeographed news release dated 7/10/68 attacking BERT FERGUSON, manager of radio station WDIA, a xerox copy of which is attached to each copy of this memo. This was received by him from HARRELL.

Attachments 3

1 - 157-1067, BOP
1 - 157-556, POSSIBLE RACIAL VIOLENCE, MAJOR URBAN AREAS
1 - 170-70-Sub, [redacted]
1 - 157-1070, [redacted]
1 - 157-953, BLACK POWER INFILTRATION, NOP & WOPC
1 - 66-1667-Sub, Dissemination
WHL:LF
(6)

170-70-Sub - [redacted]

Lawrence

Informant also furnished a copy of NOP Bulletin dated 7/11/68, which was received by him from HARRELL. A copy of this bulletin is attached to each copy of this memo.

FBI Withers 1480

Attention Parents:

We, the members of the Black Student Association of Memphis State University, in conjunction with the Department of Radio and Television of Memphis State University, are sponsoring a program aimed at providing young people in the Memphis area with an avenue to express their creative ideas through the use of cameras and filming equipment.

The participants will be transported to Memphis State University where they will receive training in the usage of cameras and filming equipment. After the training period they will return to their respective neighborhood where they will involve themselves in still picture, motion picture production.

If you consent to allowing us to indulge ourselves in providing your child with this opportunity, please signify by affixing your signature below.

NAME OF PROSPECTIVE PARTICIPANT _____

ADDRESS _____ TELEPHONE _____

NAME, ADDRESS AND TELEPHONE NUMBER OF PERSON WE MAY CONTACT IN CASE OF AN EMERGENCY.

_____

_____

_____

AREA _____

_____

Signature of Parent or Guardian

Mr. E. C. Stimbert:

We, the black taxpaying citizens and students of the Memphis-Shelby County area are shocked, saddened, and concerned that the curriculum dealing with History in the School System does not mention the total role of the Negro in America.

We are shocked because Negroes comprise 15% of the population of America today; we are saddened because we are proud of our race and because the toil of our ancestors made America what it is today; concerned because America knows and you must know that we, as black people, do care about our heritage and do want to learn history as it really was. We, as a black people, have an identification, our heroes, and villains, our pioneers and inventors.

Furthermore, we understand that good History books are now available that really "Tell it like it is". Therefore, we the undersigned taxpayers and students DEMAND that our youth both Negro and white be given the opportunity to learn and grow NOW knowing the true Negro heritage in American History, and through the Memphis Public School System.

Taxpayer	Address	Student	School

FBI Withers 1482

Black Organizing Project
Memphis, Tennessee
July 10, 1968

The following is a response to Mr. Bert Ferguson and his WDIA Editorial broadcast of May 22, 1968, regarding "Vandalism and Rowdyism" in city schools.

Mr. Ferguson whom practically everyone in Memphis knows... by name, contends that steps must be taken to stop misguided youths from their own mistakes. If by mistakes, Mr. Ferguson, you mean that black children are reacting without a cause and unjustly to nearly 400 years of maltreatment and substandard indignities posed by a racist society that has condoned such practices, you are indeed right. They are misguided -- away from the ridiculous brainwashing and orientation of the white power structure that you have tried to administer as an eternal life sentence.

To say that vandalism at 12 city schools is directly attributed to the leadership of elements of the Invaders is as absurb a statement as having a condemned man on death row to believe that everything will be all right. But then, we have been on death row for 300 years, haven't we Mr. Ferguson? You still have us to believe that everything will be alright.

Maybe so, but only when the Negro in Memphis, and America as well, makes everything alright for himself, and not rely on the promises of "Mr. Charlie". After all, "Mr. Charlie" promised the American Indian .... didn't he?
"WDIA believes it is nonsense to say children are worried about the Viet-Nam War." It is nonsense Mr. Ferguson, for Negro children to lose brothers and fathers and relatives in an illegal war that has no moral merit a nd be worried? Well, we don't think so. After all, this same city expects a Negro to dodge bullets and give his life in Viet Nam and other far away powder kegs and, at the same time deny the same man the opportunity of his white counterpart to provide decent housing for his family.

You say you are old-fashioned enough to believe schools should be run by the teachers. Well, we are modern enough to believe the black community should have a say-so in how they are run. You say that "the opportunities for the Negro student who prepares himself are limitless". Are they Mr. Ferguson? How many black men and women are there in this country that did prepare themselves for the Masters and PH Degrees they possess, but yet are denied the chance of channeling them into an outlet of educational and motivational streams of which they are so capable? You further state that things for the Negro are changing. They should have changed a long time ago.

You have always made sure that the Negro knew all about your history, but what about our history that in the words of Bill Cosby has become "Lost, strayed or stolen". Your editorial of Saturday stated that "if the Invaders want to talk about history, let them turn to the pages concerning anarchy. It has never won any permanent victories". Anarchy, Mr. Ferguson, has always been conceived and commited by the American whiteman. Anarchy is not part of the black man's heritage. Time after time Mr. Ferguson, you state that "MDIA believes..". Maybe MDIA does believe, but when did MDIA become the pulse of the black populace? And why, Mr. Ferguson do you seem to have the right to appoint yourself the self acclaimed champion of the black man? You've always been free. We shall no longer be sheep defending your right to eat us.

And finally, Mr. Ferguson, make no mistake that first, last and always "Black is Beautiful".

--- The Black Organizing Project

NEIGHBORHOOD ORGANIZING PROJECT
1217 Thomas Street
525-4546

July 12, 1968

Despite the fact that the Neighborhood Organizing Project (N. O. P.) has only $20,000 for operating expenses, it has made some significant gains in the way of helping poverty stricken people of Memphis. Even though the program was late getting started, it is moving along at a rapid pace. The only office that has been established as of this date is the one in North Memphis which is located at 1217 Thomas. This office is currently carrying out three programs designed to help poverty stricken people.

The first program is called Operation Shoes. It is designed to get shoes for poor, needy children whose parents cannot afford to buy them any shoes. The field workers are going around to all the shoe stores asking the owners to donate shoes to the project to give to the needy children.

The second program is called Operation Clothing. Basically it works in the same manner as Operation Shoes. The field workers will be going around asking owners of large departments stores to donate clothing to the poverty stricken people of the ghetto.

The third program is called Operation Culture. This program is designed to acquaint young black children and adults with their heritage and culture. There will be guest speakers brought in to talk to the children about Black heroes, famous Black scientist, famous Black athletes, etc. This phase of the program will allow black people to relate to themselves and their race with PRIDE.

FBI-Withers-1485

This program, which was patterned after the Community Unification Program of the Black Organizing Project, (B . O. P.) will allow the people of the Black community to familiarize themselves with their problems [illegible] help them to solve some of the [illegible]

Black community. Before a sustained effort to eliminate the problems of the Black community can be made, one must know the problem. This is one of the major aims of the N.O.P. If the two sides, black and white, can work together to alleviate the prejudices, racism, and hatred that have existed between them for so many years then America could truly be called the land of the free and the home of the brave.

The N.O.P. is going to do all it can to try to solve the many problems that exist between the two races. The solving of these problems can't be done by the people of the N.O.P. alone but they must be solved by the two races working together on a man to man basis. The white community has often asked what can it do to help solve some of the problems that exist. There are a number of things that the white community can do to help alleviate the problems that this country faces. The white community is in shape financially and materially to help, but it must first become willing to help the situation.

There are also some things that the Black community can do to help itself. Black people must began to relate to the white man and his fellow Black man if any of the problems are to be solved at all. The Black man must began to help himself. With some financial and material help from the white community and self-help from the Black community the problem and tension exist between them could be eased.

DECLASSIFICATION AUTHORITY DERIVED FROM:
FBI AUTOMATIC DECLASSIFICATION GUIDE
DATE 03-05-2012

OPTIONAL FORM NO. 10
MAY 1962 EDITION
GSA GEN. REG. NO. 27
5010-106

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : SAC (157-1067) DATE: 8/26/68

FROM : SA WILLIAM H. LAWRENCE

SUBJECT: BLACK ORGANIZING PROJECT (BOP), aka Invaders

On 8/15/68 [redacted] orally advised SA WILLIAM H. LAWRENCE as follows:

The notorious Memphis pickpocket LANCE WATSON, aka "Willie Wine," "Sweet Willie Wine," who in the past has been with the Invaders cell of BOP, and who for the past three months has been in Washington, D. C., with the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC), is back in Memphis. He has had publicity photos made and is having a poster made advertising a Black United Front rally to be held at Clayborn Temple, AME Church, 280 Hernando, 8:00 p.m., Monday, 8/19/68.

1-157-1067 - BOP
1-157-556 - Possible Racial Violence, Major Urban Areas
1-170-70-Sub - ME 338-R (Ghetto)
1-157-166 - SCLC
1-157-1312 - Black Knights
1-157-1258 - [redacted]
1-157-1277 - [redacted]
1-157-957 - [redacted]
1-157-1070 - [redacted]
1-100-4528 - [redacted]
1-25-14636 - [redacted]
1-100-4575 - [redacted]
1-134-511 - [redacted]
1-157- - [redacted]
1-157-Dead - [redacted]
1-157-Dead - [redacted]
1-170-1024 - [redacted]
1-157-1116 - [redacted]
1-157-1019 - [redacted]
1-157-1173 - [redacted]
1-157-1114 - [redacted]
1-157-1326 - [redacted]
1-170- - [redacted]
1-66-1687-Sub - Dissemination
WHL:wp
(24)

170-70-Sub - [redacted]
SEARCHED ..... INDEXED .....
SERIALIZED ..... FILED .....
AUG 28 1968
FBI — MEMPHIS

DECLASSIFICATION AUTHORITY DERIVED FROM:
FBI AUTOMATIC DECLASSIFICATION GUIDE
DATE 03-30-2012

OPTIONAL FORM NO. 10
MAY 1962 EDITION
GSA GEN. REG. NO. 27
5010-106

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : SAC DATE: 8/26/68

FROM : SA WILLIAM H. LAWRENCE

SUBJECT: BLACK ORGANIZING PROJECT (BOP),
aka
RM
ME FILE 157-1067

BLACK KNIGHTS INC.
RM
ME FILE 157-1312

On 8/21/68 Lt. E. H. ARKIN, Intelligence Bureau, Memphis, Tenn., PD, furnished SA LAWRENCE copies of the following PD communications, one copy each of which is attached to each copy of this memorandum:

170-70-Sub - [redacted]
SEARCHED ..... INDEXED
SERIALIZED ..... FILED
AUG 29 1968
FBI — MEMPHIS

Attachments 7
1 - 167-1067, BOP
1 - 157-1312, BK
1 - 157-586, POSSIBLE RACIAL VIOLENCE, MAJOR URBAN AREAS
1 - 157-1168, RACIAL SITUATION, TENNESSEE
1 - 157-957, [redacted]
1 - 157-1000, [redacted]
1 - 157-1275,
1 - 157-1361,
1 - 157-1359,
1 - 157-1384,
1 - 157-1351,
1 - 157-1292,
1 - 157-1061,
1 - 157-1399,
1 - 170-1024,
1 - 157-1277,
1 - 100-4593,
1 - 100-4711, [redacted]
1 - 157-927, [redacted]
1 - 100-3481, TENNESSEE COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS
1 - 66-1687-Sub, Dissemination
1 - 157-953, BLACK POWER INFILTRATION, NOP & WOPC

1 - 170-1040, [redacted]
1 - 170-1040-Sub
1 - 157- [redacted]
1 - 157-1242, [redacted]
1 - 157-1349,
1 - 157-1125,
1 - 170-1034,
1 - 170-866, [redacted]
1 - 157-1019;
1 - 157-1258,
1 - 157-1181,
1 - 157-1362, [redacted]
1 - 100-662, NAACP
1 - 170-70-Sub, ME 338-R(GHETTO)
1 - 100-4518, [redacted]
[redacted]
1 - 44-1987, MURKIN

WHL:LF
(38)

FBI-Withers-1488

1) PD memo dated 8/21/68 from Lt. O. B. HOLCOMB, Intelligence Unit, setting forth results of his 8/21/68 contact with PD undercover agent, code name "MAX," regarding "Activities of Invaders 8/20/68 at the City Hall City Council meeting"

2) PD memo dated 8/20/68 regarding observations of Lt. ARKIN at the 8/20/68 City Council meeting concerning the Turnkey Housing Project

3) Two news clippings from The Commercial Appeal, Memphis newspaper, 8/21/68 issue, regarding the Council meeting and one clipping from Memphis Press-Scimitar edition of 8/20/68.

4) PD Memo of Patrolman W. B. RICHMOND, Intelligence Unit, regarding 8/20/68 activities at City Hall during the Turnkey Housing Project hearings concerning placing public housing in the Frayser area of Memphis.

It will be noted that prior to the Council meeting on 8/20/68, [redacted] advised that if City Council rejected Turnkey Housing then the Tennessee Council on Human Relations led by West Tennessee Field Director GERALD FANION and supported by black powerites, the Black Knights Inc., the Invaders, Black Organizing Project (BOP) and the Neighborhood Organizing Project (NOP) funded by OEO and War on Poverty Committee (WOPC), would march on the Shelby County jail where prisoner JAMES EARL RAY is incarcerated while being held on charges of the 4/4/68 assassination of MARTIN LUTHER KING JR. The basis for their march is that in Shelby County jail the authorities could provide air conditioned luxury for a white prisoner who killed KING but would not provide housing for the poor.

It will be recalled that on 8/19/68 GERALD FANION called the writer and said the Tennessee Council on Human Relations would go to City Hall to support Turnkey Housing and that "he hoped the Invaders, et al, would not come." It is apparent that FANION was being untruthful, for on 8/21/68 [redacted] advised the writer that Invader JOHN HENRY FERGUSON told informant that FANION solicited FERGUSON to get all of the Invaders

and BOP to City Hall the afternoon of 8/20/68 to support the Turnkey Housing Project and that FANION brought the signs for potential pickets and supervised the black protest.

[redacted] gave the writer a copy of a press release distributed by FANION early on 8/20/68, a xerox copy of which is attached to each copy of this mojo.

On the night of 8/20/68 and again on 8/22/68 [redacted] advised that the Black Nights had not received any advance notice, and that on the early afternoon of 8/20/68 GERALD FANION contacted BK Coordinator WARREN LEWIS and Mrs. WARREN LEWIS and invited them to participate in the City Hall protest. Informant advised that later on the afternoon of 8/20/68 WARREN LEWIS, his wife, ROOSEVELT GREEN, RAYMOND TAYLOR, Firestone employee MARION COLLINS, a female Negro whose name is not known, and two male Negroes, employees of the RCA plant, went to City Hall.

Informant identified many of the Invaders who were identified herein before, as did [redacted] made available numerous photographs taken of the group, including photographs of SHADA and his girlfriend, LANCE BALLARD and his girlfriend, JOYCE MC INTOSH, IDA BALLARD, CHARLES BALLARD, EDWIN CLIFTON SANDERS, GERALD FANION, MAXINE SMITH, WARREN LEWIS, Mrs. WARREN LEWIS, RAYMOND TAYLOR, ROOSEVELT GREEN, the two RCA Black Nights, the female Negro Black Knight, GEORLDEAN CHRISTIAN, three or four unknown Invaders, MARION COLLINS, JOHN HENRY FERGUSON, JOHN B. SMITH, ERIC LARD HOLMAN, a person believed to be MILTON MACK, CORNELIA CRENSHAW, EDWARD M. "TED" CARTER, VERDELL BROOKS and EDWARD CLIFTON SANDERS III.

[redacted] said SANDERS, who married the daughter of Negro society doctor Dr. BYAS, and who attends Wesleyan College in Connecticut, is a protege of Rev. JAMES M. LAWSON JR. SANDERS makes revolutionary statements and says blacks will have to go to physical with whites. It is inevitable. He is an intellectual and was giving a lot of advice to the Invader faction on 8/20/68.

[redacted] said there were no plans to engage in any violence, but FANION did want to march around the County jail if the Turnkey Housing Project was rejected.

FBI-Withers-1490

On 8/21/68 Lt. ARKIN advised the City Council deferred its vote until Tuesday, 8/27/68, and that it is anticipated that additional protests will take place on that date.

DEPARTMENTAL COMMUNICATION

ASD 94

FBI-Withers-1120

TO: Inspector [redacted]
Inspectional Bureau

FROM: Ptlm. [redacted]
Dmx Intelligence Section

DATE: August 21, 1968

SUBJECT: [redacted]

[redacted]

[redacted]

[redacted]

[redacted]

b7D -5

b6 -4
b7C -4
b7D -5

b6 -4
b7C -4
b7D -5

b6 -4
b7C -4
b7D -5

DEPARTMENTAL COMMUNICATION

ASD 4

TO: *Inspector* [redacted]
Inspectional Bureau.

FROM: *Li* [redacted]
Intelligence Section.

DATE: *August 21, 1958.*

SUBJECT: [redacted]

b7C -7
b7C -7
b7E -9

FBI-Withers-1123

[redacted]

b7C -7
b7C -7
b7E -9

[redacted]

b5 -5
b7C -7
b7E -9

[redacted]

b6 -1
b7C -7
b7E -9

[redacted]

b7C -7
b7C -7
b7E -9

[redacted]

[redacted]

[redacted]

[redacted]

CC:

DEPARTMENTAL COMMUNICATION

ASD 4

FBI-Withers-1125

TO: *Inspector* [redacted]
Inspectional Bureau.

FROM: *Lt.* [redacted]
Intelligence Section.

DATE: *8/21/58.*

[redacted]

[redacted]

[redacted]

[redacted]

[redacted]

[redacted]

[redacted]

[redacted]

[redacted]

[redacted]

[redacted]

CC:

MEMPHIS OFFICE

TENNESSEE COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS

280 Hernando Street

Memphis, Tennessee

FOR: City Council

FROM: Gerald A. Fanion Deputy Director Tennessee Council On Human Relations

DATE: August 20, 1968

The Tennessee Council On Human Relations calls on the City Council to move with the times. The only way we can prove the Time Magazine articles wrong is to act. Nashville and Atlanta are way ahead of Memphis in Public Housing. How long do we think we can hide out from reality? Do we honestly feel that we can expect funds from the Federal Government when we do not accept Their reasonable terms? In 1968 in America, in Memphis, we can no longer think and plan in terms of Lily White Neighborhoods. It is impossible to run a nation or a city in terms of 1st and 2nd class citizens. Last fall, every one of the members of city council took a guided tour of the Ghetto areas and were appalled at what they saw in degradation and poverty. And so we cry out that these slums be eradicated. But where can the citizens of Memphis, who live in these slums, Move? There is no place unless Memphis moves to provide it. We speak of LAW AND ORDER, but can we deny that it is a crime against our citizens that no Public Housing has been built in Memphis since 1960? Can we honestly say we are serving all our citizens and meeting the needs of all? The voice of the Council must be heard now in a decisive vote against racism. A vote for the Frayser Turnkey Project is a vote against racism and for reality. A vote for the Project will mean we can move ahead with this and other Federal Aided Programs. The Tennessee Council calls on the City Council to vote for the Frayser Turnkey Project and prove the Time Magazine Articles wrong!

DECLASSIFICATION AUTHORITY DERIVED FROM:
FBI AUTOMATIC DECLASSIFICATION GUIDE
DATE 03 05 2012

SAC (157-1067) 9/12/68

SA WILLIAM H. LAWRENCE

BLACK ORGANIZING PROJECT (BOP)
aka Invaders
RM

On 8/23/68 [redacted] furnished photos of a group of Invaders taken at City Hall, 8/20/68 when they were there to demand the City Council pass the turnkey housing project. [redacted] noted that one of those in photo, looking "monkey like" and wearing a tan shirt with writing on it including Invaders, was a mean sullen lad, full of hate.

On 8/28/68 [redacted] advised that this lad had attended the Black United Front (BUF) meeting sponsored by Invaders at Claybern Temple, 8/19/68, and the following Monday night, 8/26/68. He is staying at Lorraine Motel, did sing with the Southern Christian Leadership Choir. WALTER "BILL" BAILEY, owner of Lorraine, feels sorry for him and lets him stay in old section of the hotel. [redacted] has since talked to the lad; learned that his name is (FNU) TATE. TATE told [redacted] he hates all whites; will do anything to get even with them as both his parents were killed during the spring 1968 race riots in Memphis; that he has nothing to lose. [redacted] said the lad claimed to have been raised in North Mississippi or South Shelby County, Tenn., possibly attended school in vicinity of Capleville.

On 9/3/68 this info was discussed with Lt. E. H. ARKIN. A photo has been furnished to ARKIN. ARKIN, of Intelligence Bureau, Memphis PD, checked records finding that male Negro ELLIS TATE, DOB 12/24/19, residing 86 E. Utah, was shot by PD officers in act of looting a liquor store night of 4/4/68 following assassination of MARTIN LUTHER KING, and died 4/6/68; that his wife died a few days later of natural causes.

1 - 157-1067
1 - 170-70 Sub (MX 338-R Ghetto)
1 - 157-556 (POSSIBLE RACIAL VIOLENCE MAJOR URBAN AREAS)
2 - 157-New [redacted]

170-70-Sub - [redacted]

WHL/acp
(5)

On 9/5/68 [redacted] said he had been unable to further identify (FNU) TATE; that TATE is not a regular associate of Invaders but is the type who is almost paranoid; is so full of hate and distrust that he could logically be used by Invaders to commit illegal acts such as sniping or fire bombing .

RECOMMENDATION: [redacted]

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DATE 03-05-2012

SAC (157-1067) 9/13/68

SA WILLIAM H. LAWRENCE

BLACK ORGANIZING PROJECT, aka
Invaders
RM

On 9/5/68 [redacted] orally advised SA WILLIAM H. LAWRENCE as follows:

On 9/4/68 JOY FINSTON, white female, of New Orleans, Louisiana, a staff writer for "Southern Patriot," official publication of the Southern Conference Educational Fund, Inc. (SCEF), described by informant as a communist front headed by CARL and ANNE BRADEN of Louisville, Kentucky, came by bus to Memphis from New Orleans. She spent the night of 9/4/68 with Attorney and Mrs. MARVIN RATNER of the law firm of MARVIN RATNER, RUSSELL B. SUGARMON, JR., ARCHIE W. WILLIS, JR., and LOUIS LUCAS, Commerce Title Building.

She was seeking photographs of the recent 8/14-17/68 annual Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC) convention, held in Memphis. She specifically sought out interviews with Invaders, the militant cell of Black Organizing Project (BOP), and was taken to the joint Invaders and Neighborhood Organizing Project (NOP) Field Office, 1310 Florida.

There, on 9/4/68, she interviewed NOP Field Coordinator WILLIE "SCOOP" ROGERS and NOP Volunteer JOHN HENRY FERGUSON, both of whom are leading Invaders. She discussed with them the 8/16/68 controversy of

1-157-1067
1-170-70-Sub - MK 338-R (Ghetto)
1-157-556 - Possible Racial Violence, Major Urban Areas
1-100-92 - SCEF
1-157-953 - Black Power Infiltration of WOPC & NOP
1-157-1349 - [redacted]
1-100-4528 -
1-157-1125 -
WHL:wp
(8)

170-70-Sub - [redacted]

DECLASSIFICATION AUTHORITY DERIVED FROM:
FBI AUTOMATIC DECLASSIFICATION GUIDE
DATE: 12-01-2012

OPTIONAL FORM NO. 10
MAY 1962 EDITION
GSA GEN. REG. NO. 27
5010-106

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : SAC (157-1067) DATE: 9/18/68

FROM : SA WILLIAM H. LAWRENCE

SUBJECT: BLACK ORGANIZING PROJECT (BOP), aka
Invaders
RM

Re: Firebombings by Invaders, Night of
9/10/68; BUF Meeting 9/10/68

1 - 157-1067 (BOP)
1 - 157-556 (Possible Racial Violence, Major Urban Areas)
1 - 157-1423 (Black United Front)
1 - 157-957 [redacted]
1 - 157-1351
1 - 157-1019
1 - 170-1024
1 - 157-1116
1 - 157-1277
1 - 157-1258
1 - 157-1263
1 - 157-1181
1 - 157-1349
1 - 157-1125
1 - 157-1230
1 - 157-1372
1 - 157-1418
1 - 157-1312 (Black Knights)
1 - 100-4528
1 - 25-14636
1 - 157-1173
1 - 157-1275
2 - 157-NEW
1 - 157-1341
1 - 157-
1 - 157-1133
1 - 170-1145
1 - 170-1040
1 - 157-1018
1 - 170-61
1 - 170-70 Sub (ME 338-R (Ghetto)
WHL:gmh
(32)

170-70-Sub - [redacted]
SEARCHED ... INDEXED ...
SERIALIZED ... FILED ...
SEP 19 1968
FBI — MEMPHIS

On 9/12/68 Lt. [redacted] and Lt. E. H. ARKIN, Intelligence Unit, Memphis Police Department, furnished the writer with a copy of the Memphis Police Department memorandum dated 9/11/68 re "Activities of Invaders 9/10/68," as furnished by Police Department undercover officer, code name "MAX."

One Xerox copy of same is attached to each copy of this memorandum.

The fires mentioned were 95-101-105 Ingle, being renovated by H.O.M.E., operated by Negro attorney A. W. WILLIS, and financed by Supreme Mortgage Company.

(The abovementioned "H.O.M.E.," means Housing Opportunity, Memphis Enterprises.)

On 9/12/68 [redacted] called the writer to say that on 9/5/68 a house (old and dilapidated) across the street from 95 Ingle burned and that he had noted that it was owned or rented by A. C. Aste Realty Company, which was the original rental agent at 1310 Florida (Neighborhood Organizing Project field office) where the Invaders had their headquarters. The Invaders were angered at being ousted at 1310 early in September.

Informant said HARRIS ROBINSON of Monique Funeral Home, Ingle and Kansas, indicated to the informant that he knew who burned the houses at 95-101-105 Ingle on the night of 9/10/68 but did not elaborate.

RECOMMENDATION:

[redacted]

FBI-Withers-1497

DEPARTMENTAL COMMUNICATION

ASD 4

TO: Inspector G. P. Tines,
Inspectional Bureau

SUBJECT: Activities of Invaders, 9-10-68.

FROM: Lt. E. H. Arkin,
Intelligence Bureau

DATE: September 11, 1968

At 2:30 PM informant states that MARREL MCCULLOUGH went to 1644 Hanauer, Apt. 2, and that the only persond present in the apartment at that time was MAURICE LEWIS, who was sleeping. Informant states that he along with MARREL MCCULLOUGH then proceeded downtown to the Voter Registration Office in the County Building and while en route met CHARLES HARRINGTON, who was driving the family white/grey Oldsmobile headed south on Riverside Drive at Georgia. Those observed in the car with Harrington were VERDELL BROOKS, CHARLES BALLARD, EMMETT HOUSE.

Upon arrival at the County Building everyone was gone so they then proceeded back to 1644 Hanauer, Apt. 2, which is known as the Crib. Those present at the Crib at this time were HARRINGTON, HOUSE, BROOKS, BALLARD, WILLIE WINE and CEDRIC MOORE. Also present was a female Negro JOYCE (LNU) who is WILLIE WINE'S girl friend, and it was brought out that she is probably going back to Marks, Mississippi, this coming Saturday, as she is a high school senior there.

LANCE WATSON aka SWEET WILLIE WINE wanted to go andget some money and food. Informant stated that WILLIE WINE, his girl friend JOYCE, MARREL MCCULLOUGH, ARTHUR NORWOOD and VERDELL BROOKS all drove in MCCULLOUGH'S car to the Post Office at Calhoun and Second. WINE got one dollar from some unknown person.

After leaving there WINE went to the beauty shop on Hernando just north of Vance on the east side of the street to get some money there but was unable to. They left and went to Fourth and Walker to the Chinese store on the corner. ARTHUR NORWOOD wanted to go into the store, sack up a bag of groceries and just walk out, but VERDELL BROOKS, who went intothe store with NORWOOD, talked him out of this, as the Chinese grocer was watching them and BROOKS was afraid he might shoot them. While waiting for NORWOOD AND BROOKS to come back to the car, informant states a group of young kids in the neighborhood came up to the car wanting to know if they were all Invaders? These kids then stated, "Why don't you come over to LaRose School and tear it up?" SWEET WILLIE WINE then told these kids that they, too, were all Invaders. The kids wanted to know where they had their machine guns hidden, etc. Informant states as they left this area, WILLIE WINE gave one of the kids a piece of paper and told him to get the names of all the kids who wanted to be Invaders and get the list back to him.

They then went back to 1644 Hanauer, at which time MCCULLOUGH, BALLARD and HELEN BRIDGES went to the Chicken Villa at Third and Crump where HELEN BRIDGES bought some chicken. They then took HELEN BRIDGES back to 1644 Hanauer, dropping her off, and MCCULLOUGH and BALLARD then proceeded to Carver High School and watched the football team practi cing. While there, they met JOHN B. SMITH, WILLIE ROGERS, JOHN HENRY FERGUSON and GREE MCKENZIE. They all stayed there until approximately 6:00 P.M.and then went back to 1644 Hanauer.

FBI-W thers-1499

At 7:20 P.M., 9-10-68, MARREL MCCULLOUGH, MELVIN SMITH, JOYCE (LNU), WILLIE WINE, JEWEL DAVIS and a female colored (FNU) SMITH, who lives in the same apartment unit as JOHN B. SMITH, described as 19 years old, 5'4", 110 lbs., skinny, with natural hair, all went to Clayborn Temple. Upon their arrival at Clayborn Temple the building was closed, but there was a large group of people outside. Two of the persons recognized standing outside Clayborn Temple were WARREN LEWIS and [illegible]ION COLLINS, both of the Black Knights.

MARREL MCCULLOUGH returned to 1649 Hanauer and picked up ORLE MCKENZIE and MAURICE LEWIS and then went by CHARLES HARRINGTON'S on Rilo, where they asked HARRINGTON if he was taking his car to stop by the Crib and pick up some of the guys, to which HARRINGTON said he would. Those still left at the Crib were JOHN B. SMITH, CHARLES CABBAGE and VERDELL BROOKS. MCCULLOUGH, MCKENZIE and LEWIS then went back to the Crib to advise JOHN B. SMITH that HARRINGTON would pick them up and as MCCULLOUGH, MCKENZIE and LEWIS were leaving, they picked up ARTHUR NORWOOD.

While driving down to Clayborn Temple from the Crib, ARTHUR NORWOOD made the comment to MCCULLOUGH, "We have a job to do down in the south end on Ingle after we drop LEWIS and MCKENZIE off at Clayborn Temple."

After dropping LEWIS and MCKENZIE off at the church, NORWOOD and MCCULLOUGH then proceeded to Johnson's Esso Service Station at McLemore and Florida where one of the service station attendants, believed to be the elder Johnson's son, gave NORWOOD and MCCULLOUGH a round, five gallon gas can and NORWOOD wanted ~~NX~~ $1.25 cents worth of gas, but the attendant filled the can up with gas instead of just giving them $1.25 cents worth and NORWOOD told the attendant ~~w~~ they would be back later to pay him for it.

NORWOOD and MCCULLOUGH left the gas station and returned to 1649 Hanauer. Those present at the Cribat this time were WILLIE ROGERS, ERIC (LARD) HOLMAN and a male Negro (FNU) ROACH. (This subject looks like WILLIE ROGERS). NOTE: All three of these subjects allegedly are getting an apartment at the end of this week, possibly somewhere on Alcy Road. They all sat around the Crib while NORWOOD got dressed for the meeting at Clayborn Temple.

At 8:45 P.M., 9-10-68, MCCULLOUGH, NORWOOD, ROACH, WILLIE ROGERS and ERIC (LARD) HOLMAN left in MCCULLOUGH'S car and drove past the houses under constructi on Ingle that they wanted to set fire to and parked on Kirk just south of Ingle and then with the exception of ERIC HOLMAN they walked from the car through an alley to the houses under construction. ARTHUR NORWOOD carried the gas can. The houses are situated, according to informer, east and west on the south side of Ingle. Informer stated they went in the first house on the east side of a group of three, where ARTHUR NORWOOD threw gas around the walls and the two by fours on the floor. They then moved to the next house where they had to go in a side door which is almost facing the front of Ingle St. and WILLIE ROGERS poured gas o the walls and two by fours on the floor of the second house. ROGERS had used all the gas in the can and gave the empty can to MARREL MCCULLOUGH to take back to th car. ARTHUR NORWOOD then stepped into the first house, struck a paper match, and almost got caught in the house by the fumes. ROGERS and ROACH lit the second hou They then all ran to the car and went to Clayborn Temple. En route to Clayborn Temple they stopped off at the Esso Service Station at Florida and McLemore and left the empty five gallon gas can in the men's restroom.

Upon arrival at Clayborn Temple, VERDELL BROOKS motioned to MARREL MCCULLOUG BROOKS wanting to know how the job went. Informant states that they stayed at th church for about five minutes, then MCCULLOUGH, ROGERS HOLMAN and ROACH left the Temple and went to ERIC HOLMAN 'S house where HOLMAN changed pants. They then proceeded to WILLIE ROGER'S house and ROGERS picked up applications for the

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DATE 10-07-2012

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

Memphis, Tennessee
October 7, 1968

RE: AMERICAN FEDERATION OF STATE, COUNTY AND MUNICIPAL EMPLOYEES (AFSCME) (MEMPHIS, TENNESSEE, CITY HOSPITAL STRIKE) RACIAL MATTERS

FBI-Withers-1500

As a matter of background, on October 3, 1968, Lt. [redacted] Intelligence Bureau, Memphis, Tennessee, Police Department, advised that the City of Memphis operates four hospitals, namely John Gaston Hospital, Gaylor, E. H. Crump, and William F. Bowld. Most of the so called blue collar employees of these hospitals, such as the laundry workers, orderlies, kitchen workers, are members of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees Union, Local 1733, which union organized the sanitation workers in the spring of 1968 resulting in a two-month strike. The latter strike, he said, became bitterly racial in nature, culminating in the April 4, 1968, slaying of Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC) President Martin Luther King, Jr.

On September 21, 1968, most of the members of Local 1733 employees at the city's four hospitals went on strike. The City, he said, has agreed to all grievances presented by the union except an increase in wages which cannot be given until the City Council considers the new budget for fiscal year of 1969. The City broke off negotiations with the union on October 1, 1968, and told the strikers to return to their jobs or be prepared to lose their jobs.

[redacted] said approximately 1,000 employees are striking, that the hospitals, manned by doctors, licensed registered nurses, and licenses practical nurses, all of whom are not members of the union, are operating the hospitals on a [redacted] basis. Some non-licensed personnel have remained on their jobs.

11 - Bureau
1 - USA, Memphis
1 - U. S. Secret Service, Memphis
1 - C-2, 3rd Army, Ft. McPherson, Ga.
1 - 111th IRTC, Region I, Nashville
1 - 111th IRTC, Memphis
1 - MIRO, 6th Naval District, Charleston, S.C.
1 - MIRO, Memphis
1 - CIA, 6th District, Memphis, Tenn.
(7) - Memphis (2 - 157-1616)
(1 - 157-[illegible])
(1 - 157-1163)
(1 - 157-1047) 170-70-Sub
(1 - 100-[illegible])
(1 - 170-70-Sub)
(20)

AMERICAN FEDERATION OF STATE,
COUNTY AND MUNICIPAL EMPLOYEES

The Commercial Appeal newspaper issue of October 4, 1968, Memphis, Tennessee, reported that on the night of October 3, 1968, about 3,500 persons, mostly members of and supporters of Local 1733, AFSCME, voted unanimously to support the strikers, that Local 1733 has members in the City Sanitation Department, Memphis School Board employees, City Park Department, and Memphis Housing Authority employees. It said the union claims about 7,000 members. [redacted] said only about 500 of the City hospital employees are members of the union.

[redacted] said the City claims its contract with the hospital members of the union contains a "no strike clause."

He added that on October 2 and October 3, 1968, the City started hiring replacements for the striking employees.

The Commercial Appeal story said that William Lucy, international representative of union, said the union members voted on October 2, 1968, to reject the city's ultimatum to return to work or be considered fired. About 40 people have returned to work since the strike began and 164 persons have so far been hired by the City to replace strikers.

On October 4, 1968, Lt. [redacted] advised that on Saturday, October 5, 1968, the union will sponsor a rally at Clayborn Temple, 280 Hernando Street, Memphis, operated by African-Methodist Episcopal Church (AME). From there the attendees will march to the Lorraine Motel, 307 Mulberry, the site of the April 4, 1968, slaying of Martin Luther King, Jr., where a rally will be held. From there the marchers will proceed to Memphis City Hall.

[redacted] added that beginning October 1, 1968, several members of the Invaders, violence prone cell of the leading Black Power movement in Memphis known as Black Organizing Project (BOP), have injected themselves into the strike.

(A characterization of BOP is attached hereto.)

[redacted] explained that on October 1, 1968, Lance Watson, also known as "Willie Wine," "Sweet Willie Wine," a notorious criminal with a long arrest record, is leading this involvement of the Invaders. On October 1, 1968, Watson, Horace Hall, and others of the Invaders passed out leaflets at John Gaston Hospital. A Xerox copy of same is set forth as follows:

THE BLACK LIBERATION

THE BLACK UNITED FRONT

SUPPORTS THE HOSPITAL STRIKE

The Black Knights
W.O.M.E.N.
S.C.L.C.
Invaders
Memphis Unity League
Memphis Mobilization

Black People do not need Uncle Toms and Traitors such as:

Thelma Dickson
225 Shannon

Archie Pruitt
989 Lewis

Ann Nelson
2419 Sherrie

Gloria Hawkins
2503 Keen

Joe Shepherd
632 McKinley

Bessie Payne

Beatrice Payne

Jonetta Doggett

Dorothy Nettles

Willie Olden

Bettye Johnson

E. Hendrix

Jency Mitchell

Erma Mitchell

The American System says that traitors must be destroyed.

WE SAY that traitors and Uncle Toms are sick, and they need to get straight!

FBI-Withers-1502

The Black United Front
Supports the Hospital Strike

The Black Knights
W.O.M.E.N.
S.C.L.C.
Memphis Unity League
Memphis Mobilization

BLACK PEOPLE are not Master Loeb's house niggers, Uncle Toms or traitors, such as:

Mrs. I. Newborn, LPN 4871 Ortie	Mrs. V. Robinson 3351 Charlotte Rd.	Thyria Monger 1627 Glenview
Vera Rogers 397 Edith	Louise Griffin 313 Flynn Rd.	Clara Turner Hunter St.
Odessa Cash Exchange Street	Josephine Hyser Cambridge	Lillie Woods 4949 Weaver Rd.
Mary Parter	Mrs. Thelma Hayes Boston St.	Thelma Stokes
Clara Clark Looney St.	Hazel Gentry Dixie St.	Virginia Rogers Keltner Circle
Minnie Bridges	Shirley Magic Frank St.	Frankie Gregory [illegible]
Virginia Brown	Mary Partee Jacquelyn	Norma Turner Hubert
Mrs. Bisom, LPN 1180 Greenwood	Bernice Cox N. Turner	Mrs. Carpenter
Mary Brother Olive St.	Mrs. Crowley	Mrs. Class

The niggers in the above list are a danger to BLACK PEOPLE. Don't let your name be next on Loeb's Head House Nigger list.

House Nigger of the Week: Mrs. Edith Watkins, 508 Edith.

The American System says that traitors must be destroyed, by any means that are necessary. But we say you are brainwashed. You can be saved; so come home, House Nigger, before it is too late.

FBI-Withers-1503

AMERICAN FEDERATION OF STATE,
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On October 1, 1968, a first source advised that the Black United Front (BUF) is a new incipient group being formed by the Invaders ostensibly supported by such groups as SCLC, WOMEN (Women on Move for Equality Now), a Negro female group supporting black economic gains, Invaders, Memphis Unity League (a group of Firestone employees, all Negroes, aiming at improving Negro employment opportunities at Firestone), and the Black Knights, a new moderate Black Power group headed by successful barber Warren Lewis, and by the Memphis Mobilization, a "young turk" movement of young adult Memphians who in the past have worked with SCLC.

Source one added that so far the BUF is innocuous and that it does not have the formal support of the more responsible civil rights and Negro groups in Memphis.

On October 3, 1968, Lt. O. B. Holcomb, Intelligence Unit, Memphis Police Department, advised that a reliable source reported that on October 3, 1968, a strike rally was held at Clayborn Temple at about 8:15 P.M. Lance "Sweet Willie Wine" Watson spoke and said Lyndon B. Johnson started the war in Vietnam in an effort to kill off all the black people. He said the white man had cheated the Indians, took their land from them, put them on reservations, and refused to sell them liquor. Wine said, "I am not going to let them put me in a concentration camp but I will tell you who is going to be first - people like Odell Horton. All Black Nationalists are standing for the same thing and we are behind you all the way and will do anything to help the black people. I have told my mother that I will kill her if she gets in my way and tries to stop me. Do you think I would let my mother interfere with the thought of 10 or 12 black people when they have the opportunity to rule the world. They don't have 'Uncle Toms' in China because they kill mothers and daddies, sisters and brothers, or anyone else who do not perform. What I am trying to tell you is what the Indians have been trying to tell you for years. The only good white man is a dead one." At this point another Invader, Horace Hall, male Negro, 1423 Goodlow, Memphis, Tennessee, got up and yelled to the audience, "Let's get our guns." Reginald Ferguson, another Invader, yelled, "Black Power now and forever." Then Watson added, "I want to know that if these people keep going to work at the

hospitals there is going to be a lot of people floating down the Mississippi River." He added, "Some of the people you know will probably call you in a few days saying they had to stop working because they have a terrible headache. Some others will probably call saying, 'You know, my little boy almost got hit by a car yesterday.' The president of the Yippies held a press conference in Washington the other day and told them, 'Sure we are going to disturb the November 5th election and everything we don't do the Black Nationalists are going to do."

Warren Lewis, barber, 887 North Thomas, and who is president of the Black Knights, a newly formed Black Power group, then spoke saying, "I have heard the hospital almost got blown up. Well, is anyone here that wants the hospital blown up? Just give me a bomb and I will show you what to do with it. I have also heard that they don't want us to use the Temple (Clayborn Temple) because of the broken windows and if we cannot use this, I can't see why there is any use of it standing here." Wine then got up and said, "Let the old landmark stand." Antra Iban Shadad, another Black Knight, spoke saying, "You see, the whole town is already afraid of the Invaders and they are going to be afraid of us because we all stand for the same thing. When another riot takes place downtown I don't want to see you down there just taking TV's and radios, I want to see you fighting the National Guards, you can walk in and get whatever you want. I know it is going to cost us some lives, but you must give up something in order to achieve something."

On October 4, 1968, Lt. O. B. Holcomb, Intelligence Bureau, Memphis Police Department, advised that a reliable source reported that Local 1733 had a strike meeting on the night of October 3, 1968, at Club Paradise. AFSCME representative William "Bill" Lucy, male Negro, spoke claiming Memphis City Hospital Director Odell Horton, a Negro, is against blacks.

Jesse Epps, also a representative of the union, spoke saying there are four types of people, niggers, Negroes, whites, and crackers. He referred to Horton as "head nigger" in Memphis and as a stooge of white power structure. He claimed 7,000 AFSCME members are in Memphis.

AMERICAN FEDERATION OF STATE,
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Then Rev. Malcom Douglas Blackburn, white male, Pastor, Clayborn Temple AME Church, 280 Hernando, and now a field organizer of AFSCME, spoke and chanted "Soul Power."

On October 4, 1968, the first source advised that Malcom D. Blackburn, white male, now bearded, Pastor, Clayborn Temple AME Church, 280 Hernando, formerly connected with the AME Minimum Salary Office and now an organizer for AFSCME, is ramrodding the current Memphis city hospital strike which started on September 21, 1968.

"Muhammad Speaks" Reporter Dwight Casimere

Blackburn invited to Memphis a male Negro, Dwight Casimere, of Chicago, Illinois, a professional newsman of the staff for the official Nation of Islam (NOI) paper, "Muhammad Speaks." Casimere arrived on October 4, 1968, via plane from Chicago, staying at the Lorraine Motel, Memphis. He is described as a Negro male, clean cut, high brown skin, bushy hair 2 inches long and high in the back, wears glasses, keen facial features, mid-thirties, 5 feet 10 inches tall, 165 pounds, and well educated. He incessantly carries a portable tape recorder. Ironically, Casimere is not a Black Muslim. His purpose is to write for his paper a news story regarding the current hospital strike.

He has interviewed several black Memphians connected with the strike. Blackburn insisted that he interview Dr. Vasco Smith, Executive Vice President of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), Memphis Chapter. He interviewed AFSCME field representative Jesse Epps. Dr. H. Ralph Jackson, Director, AME Minimum Salary Office, Gerald Fanion, West Tennessee representative of the Tennessee Council on Human Relations, as well as several members of Local 1733 of AFSCME, the striking union.

Participation of Invaders in Strike Led by Lance Watson, Also Known As "Sweet Willie Wine"

On October 4, 1968, Dwight Casimere interviewed key Invader personnel, including the current most active leader, the notorious peripatetic criminal Lance Watson, also known as "Sweet Willie Wine," who has a long police record. "Wine"

is now taking an active part in the strike, assisted by such Invaders as Horace Hall and Maurice Lewis, who is now living at 939 Maple Street, Memphis, allegedly with his father. Lewis bragged during the interview that earlier on October 4, 1968, he was called for Armed Forced induction or pre-induction physical. He claimed he went to the draft board of induction station and "put on quite an act" in that he wore an Army shirt and pants. In a loud voice he told the Federal authorities that he wanted a gun "right now" so he could shoot all the whites, the the Government wanted him to kill Vietnamese but he wanted to shoot whites here at home. He bragged that the authorities became scared of him and sent him home and that now he will not have to go into the Army.

Also with "Wine" and Lewis were two newly identified Invaders, Michael Mountain, about 20, residing at 813 Olympic in the Klondyke area, and Roy Tucker, about 20, now residing at 2376 Dexter in the Hollywood area. Both Mountain and Tucker graduated from Mitchell Road High School in South Shelby County, Tennessee, in the spring of 1968.

The Invaders, including Watson and Lewis, were heard to remark that Local 1733 has engaged the Invaders to serve as a "witnessing movement," explaining that this was a sophisticated term for "intimidation squad" in that the Invaders would appear at hospital workers exits and entrances when the work shifts change in an effort to mentally intimidate current workers into being afraid to return to work.

In fact, on the night of October 4, 1968, Tucker and Mountain were at 1733 headquarters, AME Minimum Salary Office, 276 Hernando, planning logistics for a mass downtown parade planned by Local 1733 for Saturday, October 5, 1968, to attempt to dramatize the strike.

Casimere had no contact whatsoever with and has made no mention of the Memphis, Tennessee, Mosque of the NOI.

(Characterization of NOI is set forth in the appendix.)

AMERICAN FEDERATION OF STATE,
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Local 1733 Rally Night of October 3, 1968

The union held a rally on the night of October 3, 1968, in the Club Paradise. The most vitriolic, violence prone talk was made by Lance Watson, who called for violence against those hospital workers not striking, said this is the "only thing the City (Memphis City administration) fears."

His remarks scared most of the audience, predominantly Negro women, who are mostly opposed to violence.

October 4, 1968, Union Rally at Clayborn Temple

The union held a rally at Clayborn Temple, 280 Hernando, on October 4, 1968. Rev. Harold Middlebrook of SCLC spoke. He gave a moderately militant civil rights type speech, basically religiously oriented, and exhorted the audience not to engage in violence.

Presence of White Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) Faction in Strike

At this strike rally was Edward M. "Ted" Carter, Jr., 24 year old white male, of 3710 Northwood, who is attempting to form an SDS group primarily to consist of college students at Memphis State University (MSU). Carter had three unknown white males and three white females with him. Some of the audience, all Negro, showed a hostility toward the "invasion" of whites. Dr. H. Ralph Jackson arose and warned the audience, "Let's don't get mad at the whites. We need all the help we can get to win this strike. The strike may be racial in nature since most strikers are black, but we need the goodwill of all segments of the community, black and white alike." Jackson further exhorted the audience to participate in the "union sympathy march" scheduled for October 5, 1968, and urged those present to "bring your large children, but bring no one you cannot control."

SCLC Position in Strike

The official SCLC in Memphis, headed by Memphis convener Rev. Samuel Billy Kyles and Criminal Court Judge Ben L. Hooks, is not as yet active in the strike; however,

some of the "young turk" faction of SCLC, not officially sanctioned by SCLC, are active, particularly Randle Catron who is living at 1101 Saxton, Memphis, phone No. 946-2224. Catron is sponsoring a so called SCLC "gospel show" at Mason Temple on October 27, 1968, featuring the Lane College choir. It will also be at Meharry High School, Jackson, Tennessee, the same day at 2:00 P.M. and at 8:00 P.M. at Mason Temple. He is using this to raise funds.

Catron is telling the strikers that the national president of SCLC, Rev. Ralph Abernathy, and his staff will be in Memphis on October 14, 1968, to support the strike and to "get out the vote" for the November 5, 1968, national election.

Strike Still Primarily a Union Affair

As of October 4, 1968, the strike is primarily a union affair. It is not being openly or massively supported by such divergent black groups as Community on the Move for Equality (COME), Negro ministerial groups, and the NAACP. Most of these elements respect Memphis Hospital Director C. Odell Horton, a Negro and former Assistant U. S. Attorney. They do not like Memphis Mayor Henry Loeb and would like to embarrass him by openly supporting the strike. Paradoxically they are caught in a dilemma. If they attack Loeb too hard they will destroy Horton and are forced for the present to hold off direct action in an effort to give Horton a chance to amicably settle the strike.

The "old line" Invaders such as Charles Cabbage, Charles Ballard, and Oree McKenzie are not active in the strike. All are out on bond for previous offenses. Ballard and McKenzie are out on "peace bonds" arranged by their parents, who put up their property as security. They cannot afford to get arrested lest they forfeit their peace bonds.

Lance Watson, who is a demagogue, is flamboyant, and has a criminal background. He has an appeal to irresponsible, criminally prone Negro youth and could well influence them to engage in violence in connection with the strike.

FBI Withers 1509

AMERICAN FEDERATION OF STATE,
COUNTY AND MUNICIPAL EMPLOYEES

On October 5, 1968, Lt. E. H. Arkin, Intelligence Unit, Memphis Police Department, advised that on the afternoon of October 4, 1968, Lance "Sweet Willie Wine" Watson, Horace Hall, and Maurice Lewis were near the John Gaston Hospital. Wine appeared to be taking photographs of hospital workers still on the job. Several unidentified Negroes were with Wine. Rev. Malcom D. Blackburn was with them but he is not known to be specifically directing their activities.

Arkin added that Memphis Police Department inquiries had developed information that Watson had been talking to young hospital workers attempting to win them over and to cause them to quit. This concerned the older employees who are still working.

Arkin added that on the morning of October 5, 1968, a Local 1733 "sympathy march" was held in downtown Memphis in which about 1,000 people participated, primarily all Negroes and ostensibly mostly Local 1733 members. Arkin did observe several SDS members in the march led by Edward M. "Ted" Carter, Jr., white male, of 3710 Northwood.

(A characterization of SDS is set forth in the appendix.)

This march proceeded from Clayborn Temple south on Hernando to Linden, west on Linden to Main, and north on Main to City Hall, where the leaders left a sign reading "Negotiate." Thereafter, the marchers walked to the Lorraine Motel, 407 Mulberry, and terminated the march. No arrests were made, no violence occurred. Arkin added that union leaders said that if the strike is not ended by October 12, 1968, that another mass downtown march will be held.

The Commercial Appeal newspaper issue of October 7, 1968, reported that Odell Horton, Director of City Hospitals, stated on October 6, 1968, that about 1,000 of the city's 2,480 city hospital employees were still on strike, that in the meantime limited hospital service would continue at John Gaston Hospital, and that new employees were being hired.

FBI-Withers-1510

AMERICAN FEDERATION OF STATE,
COUNTY AND MUNICIPAL EMPLOYEES

On October 7, 1968, Lt. E. H. Arkin advised that through a reliable source, it was learned that SDS members Edward M. "Ted" Carter, Cynthia Fredda Berman, Walter Mims Ellis, and Pamela Concklin were in contact with Rev. Malcom D. Blackburn and with Jesse Epps, both officials of AFSCME, on October 4, 1968, and were invited by the latter to participate in the October 5, 1968, downtown march. It was also learned that Carter, the SDS spokesman, met Lance Watson but had a personal animosity towards Watson without giving his reasons therefore.

Information developed hereinbefore received from source one was furnished to William Bray, 111th INTC, Memphis, Tennessee, and to Lt. E. H. Arkin.

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

FBI-Withers-1511

1

APPENDIX

BLACK ORGANIZING PROJECT (BOP),
also known as Black Organizing Power,
Afro-American Brotherhood,
Black Student Association,
Invaders,
LeMoyne Intercollegiate Chapter of the
National Association for the Advancement of
Colored People (NAACP),
City Organizers

On April 18, 1968, a first source advised that a black power group in Memphis which has been in existence for several months has until recently been known as Black Organizing Power. It is now known as Black Organizing Project (BOP), also known as Black Organizing Power, with five cells or parts, known as (1) Afro-American Brotherhood (AAB), primarily consisting of Owen College students; (2) Black Student Association (BSA), primarily consisting of Memphis State University (MSU) Negro students; (3) LeMoyne Intercollegiate Chapter of the NAACP, consisting of LeMoyne College students; (4) the Invaders, consisting mostly of high school dropouts; and (5) the City Organizers, comprised of young adults.

AAB has about 12 members; BSA has about 20 members; the Invaders has about 15 members; the LeMoyne group has about 20 members; and the City Organizers has about 20 members.

Source one advised the BOP attempts to create pride in black identity, attempts to teach and promote the teaching of Negro history, and to promote black culture and obtain more employment for young Negroes.

The Executive Secretary of BOP is Charles Laverne Cabbage.

On February 16, 1968, Charles Laverne Cabbage personally acknowledged being leader of BOP, claiming he is the impetus of black power in Memphis, Tennessee, and that BOP's purpose is to stimulate in the young Negroes a sense of black identity, black pride, and black consciousness. He said his group follows the teachings of Student Nonviolent

APPENDIX

FBI-Withers-1512

Coordinating Committee (SNCC) leaders H. Rap Brown and Stokely Carmichael but that BOP did not necessarily exist as a formal SNCC unit. Cabbage further admitted he had made statements such as "Memphis should be burned" and "Memphis should have a good race riot," but claimed he did not mean these statements literally, merely endeavoring to shock the community into doing something to help the black race.

On February 27, 1968, a second source advised that at a public meeting on February 26, 1968, the BOP Chairman John Burrell Smith told a Negro audience, "We've got to do some fighting," and "You'd better get some guns. You're going to need them before this is over. You can't pray your way out."

On June 6, 1968, the second source advised that BOP primarily consists of about 30 to 35 young college and high school students and school dropouts, unemployed and not looking for work, who continually preach hatred of the white race and capitalistic economic system and advocating and predicting violence by blacks. The over-all plan of BOP, according to source two, is to scare the Memphis community leaders, both black and white, into fearing black militancy. The BOP leaders then hope to convince the community to fund them as a form of subtle blackmail whereby BOP can prevent racial violence. Source two said that BOP is more interested in publicity and money than in direct action, but is nevertheless preaching violence in an effort to scare the community.

FBI-Withers-1513

NATION OF ISLAM
MEMPHIS, TENNESSEE

A source advised on June 1, 1968, that the Memphis, Tennessee, affiliate or Mosque of the Nation of Islam (NOI) was formed in Memphis, Tennessee, in late July or early August, 1959, and has continued to operate and exist in Memphis since that time.

The Memphis unit, also known as Muhammad's Mosque, is formally affiliated with the over-all national organization of the NOI, the headquarters of which is in Chicago, Illinois. It follows its teachings and programs.

The Memphis Mosque's active membership is estimated at 15 members. There is very little turnover in membership. The group meets three to four times weekly.

FBI-Withers-1514

1

STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY

The Students for a Democratic Society (SDS), as it is known today, came into being at a founding convention held at Port Huron, Michigan, in June, 1962. The SDS is an association of young people on the left and has a current program of protesting the draft, promoting a campaign for youth to develop a conscientious objector status, denouncing United States intervention in the war in Vietnam, and to "radically transform" the university community, and provide for its complete control by students. Gus Hall, General Secretary, Communist Party, USA, when interviewed by a representative of United Press International in San Francisco, California, on May 14, 1965, described the SDS as a part of the "responsible left" which the Party has "going for us." At the June, 1965, SDS National Convention, an anticommunist proviso was removed from the SDS constitution. In the October 7, 1966, issue of "New Left Notes," the official publication of SDS, an SDS spokesman stated that there are some communists in SDS and they are welcome. The national headquarters of this organization as of July 24, 1968, was located in Room 206, 1608 West Madison Street, Chicago, Illinois.

FD-36 (Rev. 12-13-59)

DECLASSIFICATION AUTHORITY DERIVED FROM:
FBI AUTOMATIC DECLASSIFICATION GUIDE
DATE 08-07-2012

FBI

Date: 10/7/68

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plain text or code)

Via AIRTEL _____
(Priority or Method of Mailing)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI

FROM: SAC, MEMPHIS (157-1516) (P)

SUBJECT: AMERICAN FEDERATION OF STATE, COUNTY AND MUNICIPAL EMPLOYEES (AFSCME) (MEMPHIS, TENNESSEE, CITY HOSPITAL STRIKE) RM

(OO Memphis)

Enclosed herewith for the Bureau are 11 copies LHM captioned as above and dated 10/7/68. Copies are being disseminated to USA, Memphis, U. S. Secret Service, Memphis, and to regional offices of military intelligence.

Source one is [redacted]

ADMINISTRATIVE:

In view of the fact that such militant groups as SDS and Invaders are now working in the hospital strike, Memphis will closely follow its development and submit LHM's suitable for dissemination when pertinent information [redacted] developed.

[redacted]

3 - Bureau (Encs 11) (RM)
8 - Memphis
(2 - 157-1516)
(1 - 157-556)(Possible Racial Violence, Major Urban Areas)
(1 - 157-1168)(Racial Situation in Tennessee)
(1 - 157-1067)(BOP)
(1 - 100-4000)(SDS)
(1 - 170-70-Sub)(ME 338-R Ghetto)
(1 - 66-1687-Sub)(Dissemination)

170-70-Sub

WHL:mmr
(11)

Approved: _____ Sent _____ M Per _____
Special Agent in Charge

FBI-Withers-1516

LEAD:

MEMPHIS DIVISION

AT MEMPHIS, TENN.

Will follow and report pertinent developments in instant case.

DECLASSIFICATION AUTHORITY DERIVED FROM:
FBI AUTOMATIC DECLASSIFICATION GUIDE
DATE: 06-27-2012

OPTIONAL FORM NO. 10
MAY 1962 EDITION
GSA GEN. REG. NO. 27
5010-106

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : SAC (157-1067) DATE: 10/17/68

FROM : SA WILLIAM H. LAWRENCE

SUBJECT: BLACK ORGANIZING PROJECT (BOP), aka
Invaders
RM

On 9/1/68 [redacted] orally advised SA WILLIAM H. LAWRENCE as follows:

When the Invaders were arrested, en masse, at 1310 Florida Street for blocking sidewalks on the night of 8/30/68, CHARLES CABBAGE, Project Director of BOP, the parent group of Invaders, rounded up help to go to City Court Judge RAY CHURCHILL's Court. At the court held on the night of 8/30/68, one of the arrestees, JOHN HENRY FERGUSON, claimed that one of the arrestees allegedly DAVID COOK, JR., an older man, was an innocent victim and that actually the Invaders had paid his rent.

1 - 157-1067
1 - 157-556 (Possible Racial Violence, Major Urban Areas)
1 - 170-70 Sub (ME 338-R/Ghetto)
1 - 157- [redacted]
1 - 100-4575
1 - 157-1125
1 - 134-511 (
1 - 157-1423 (Black United Front)
1 - 157-1258 [redacted]
1 - 100-4528
1 - 157-957 (
1 - 100-4394
1 - 157-1495
1 - 157-1018
1 - 157-1000
1 - 157-1230

WHL:gmh
(16)

170-70-Sub - [redacted]
SEARCHED ... INDEXED
SERIALIZED ... FILED
OCT 18 1968
FBI — MEMPHIS

Information Re GENE TAYLOR, Brother of RICK TAYLOR

Source said RICK HENRY TAYLOR, the older brother of GENE TAYLOR, a hustler and pimp, is back in Memphis and has an ElDorado Cadillac. He is about 25-26 years of age. RICK TAYLOR is scared because of his association with the Invaders, especially DON NEELY, CHARLES CABBAGE, and EDWINA HARRELL and is afraid he will lose his new job at the WREC Radio Station.

Black United Front and WILLIE WINE

LANCE BALLARD, aka Willie Wine, claims the Black United Front which CHARLES CABBAGE, JOHN B. SMITH, and WINE are forming is nothing but a "front" for the Invaders and Black Organizing Project.

WINE claimed he had contacted SCLC in Washington, D. C., and had been promised $1,000.00 to $2,000.00 in assistance.

COBY SMITH

On 8/31/68 COBY VERNON SMITH said he was soliciting money from merchants to use as bail money to get the Invaders out of jail. He was with a little Negro girl who was driving a yellow and black Mustang or Sports car., bearing Shelby County, Tennessee, License KP-2278.

Records of the Shelby County Court Clerk's Office, Auto Registration Section, reveal KP-2278 was issued to ROBERT L. MILLER, 1460 South Castalia, for a 1967 Chevrolet Camaro.

The City Directory lists SUSIE MILLER, 1460 Castalia, Phone 276-0853; no employment shown. It also shows ROBERT MILLER employed at Memphis Defense Depot.

On 10/2/68 [redacted] Personnel Director, Defense Depot, advised one ROBERT L. MILLER, male Negro, born 11/15/44, residence 1460 Castalia, mother SUSIE MILLER, of the same address, is listed in his files. He advised that MILLER lists no brothers or sisters but that this does not mean he has no sisters.

Re JOHN W. WHITE and Invaders

The Negro school teacher in East Arkansas, who is a friend of CHARLES CABBAGE, JOHN W. WHITE, loafs a lot at Malunda's Cafe on Kerr.

On 8/30/68 BOP members and Invaders members, CLINTON ROY JAMERSON, JAMES E. PHILLIPS, an unknown tall Negro, and MELVIN SMITH, rode together to Malunda's. JAMERSON said the Invaders don't use good judgment and allow themselves to get arrested indiscriminately, being particularly critical of the arrests of JOHN B. SMITH, OREE MC KENZIE and JOHN HENRY FERGUSON on 8/30/68.

Information re PIGGY and CLIFFORD LOUIS TAYLOR

PIGGY who has recently been with CHARLES CABBAGE and DON NEELY was recently seen in the 1966 white Impala Super Sport Coupe of CLIFFORD LOUIS TAYLOR on 8/26/68 drinking wine, shortly prior to the time CLIFFORD and CHARLES CABBAGE were arrested at the Downtowner Motel by Memphis Police Department. PIGGY is about 27-30 years old, 5 feet 11 inches tall, thin, dark brown skin, wears "shades" (sunglasses), and has short hair. He loafs at Avalon Pool Room.

DECLASSIFICATION AUTHORITY DERIVED FROM:
FBI AUTOMATIC DECLASSIFICATION GUIDE
DATE 03-23-2012

OPTIONAL FORM NO. 10
MAY 1962 EDITION
GSA GEN. REG. NO. 27
5010-106

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : SAC (157-1067) DATE: 10/17/68

FROM : SA WILLIAM H. LAWRENCE

SUBJECT: BLACK ORGANIZING PROJECT, aka
Invaders
RM

FBI Withers 1521

On 10/3/68 [redacted] orally advised SA's HOWELL S. LOWE and WILLIAM H. LAWRENCE as follows:

New Invader Recruits - ROBERT FELTON
FRANK MITCHELL
WILLIE CONNOR
FRANK MORGAN

He made available photographs taken on 10/1/68 and 10/2/68 depicting several new "Invaders" who have recently been traveling and associating with the Invaders, LANCE WATSON, aka "SWEET WILLIE WINE," REGINALD FERGUSON, brother of JOHN HENRY FERGUSON, and HORACE HALL.

Later on 10/3/68 [redacted] identified some of these as follows:

SEARCHED INDEXED
SERIALIZED FILED
OCT 18 1968
FBI — MEMPHIS

ROBERT FELTON - wearing overalls, with bush-Afro hairdo, wearing a chain amulet or tiki

[redacted] recalled that FELTON, who claims to live near Trigg and Mississippi, is married, has 2 children. He is of medium height and weight, is about 21 years of age, and claims to work at Hunter Fan Co. He has attended 2 of the Black United Front (BUF) meetings at Clayborn Temple earlier in 9/68 sponsored by the Invaders and vocally voiced his complete espousal of and acceptance of the Invaders' violence prone program and voiced his "great admiration of BOP founder CHARLES CABBAGE."

1 - 157-1067 (BOP)
(1) - 170-70-Sub (ME 338-R Ghetto)
1 - 170-1022-Sub [redacted]
1 - 157- [redacted]
2 - 157-New [redacted]
2 - 157-New [redacted]
1 - 157-1116 [redacted]
1 - 157-1173 [redacted]
1 - 157- [redacted]
1 - 157-556 (Possible Racial Violence)
1 - 157-1258 [redacted]
1 - 157-1503 [redacted]
2 - 157-New ([redacted]
1 - 157-1019 [redacted]
1 - 66-1687-Sub (Dissemination)
WHL:mnr
(18)

170-70-Sub- [redacted]

[redacted] added that FELTON is extremely militant and provocative and spends much time with FERGUSON, WATSON, and MAURICE LEWIS of the Invaders. The 1967 City Directory lists ROBERT FELTON, laborer, Hunter Fan Company, residence 1520 Leland.

FRANK MORGAN

Another photograph furnished was of an individual who later on 10/3/68 identified himself to [redacted] FRANK MORGAN. He is a Negro male, dark complexion, about 26 years of age, claims was born and raised in south Memphis. He also claims is a veteran and said he is living now at 1334 Kentucky St. On 10/1/68 and 10/2/68 MORGAN and FELTON helped WINE, REGINALD FERGUSON, and MAURICE LEWIS to distribute leaflets, circumstantially printed by Local 1733, American Federation of State, County, and Municipal Employees (AFSCME), calling city hospital workers who continue to work during the current hospital strike traitors and saying that "under the American system traitors must be destroyed." MORGAN is a militant talker, but gave no indication as to employment.

UNSUB (Invader)

Another photograph furnished was that of an unknown subject, about 26 years old, medium height and brown complexion, short non-Afro hair, small mustache, no beard, wears rectangular "shades" (sunglasses, light tint), tiki, and large round-faced wrist watch on left arm.

Information Re 1334 Kentucky

It is noted that Memphis PD source [redacted] has recently mentioned the Invaders frequenting 1334 Kentucky St. The above FRANK MORGAN listed his address as 1334 Kentucky. Note, also, that a new Invader, FRANK GERALDS, JR., Negro male, age 26, friend of HORACE HALL and REGINALD FERGUSON as well as LANCE WATSON, when arrested by the MPD on 8/30/68 listed his address as 1334 Kentucky. Also circumstantially Invader MELVIN SMITH is now living at or near this address.

The 1967 Memphis City Directory lists Mrs. FRANCES HARPER, residence 1334 Kentucky, and employed at Betty's Cafe as a waitress, cafe shown located at 1355 Florida.

FBI Withers 1522

Information Re JIGGS, GIGGS, or HERBERT T,
Possible Narcotics Source of Invaders

[redacted] also furnished a candid photograph of an individual circumstantially believed by [redacted] to be GIGGS, JIGGS, or HERBERT T (described by [redacted] as sources of marijuana and possible narcotics for Invaders during the summer of 1968). He was wearing a hat and was smoking a pipe. He ostensibly lives near Kerr and Mississippi and comes to Beale St. nearly each evening and works in the pool room of WILLIAM JOHNSON.

Re FRANK W. MITCHELL

Another new associate of the Invaders, particularly of LANCE "WILLIE WINE" WATSON and REGINALD FERGUSON, os one FRANK MITCHELL, male Negro, age 29, brown complexion, keen facial features, 165 to 175 lbs. He used to work at International Harvester Co. and now claims to be a student at Memphis State University (MSU). (Note: 1967 City Directory lists FRANK W. MITCHELL, wife ANNIE MITCHELL, residence 2559 Monette St., employment - machine operator, International Harvester.)

MITCHELL was with FERGUSON and WATSON at the PD's new community relations field office, 1310 Florida, and its opening on 10/3/68. He was talking wildly to the effect that blacks ought to have everything and if whites "don't give it to us, we should take it by force and violence."

MITCHELL is well acquainted with REGINALD FERGUSON. MITCHELL claimed to have $2,000 and wants to go into some sort of business with FERGUSON. He said he is not a member of Black Student Association (BSA), the BOP cell at MSU.

Information Re WILLIE CONNOR

Beginning on 10/2/68 LANCE WATSON came to the downtown area of Memphis with a male Negro in his early twenties, WILLIE CONNOR, who was dressed in new blue denim work clothes, referred to as a "RALPH ABERNATHY uniform" popularized by SCLC. CONNOR had skin peeling from his face and alleged skin breaks around his wrists. WATSON was parading him around like a "prize bull" as "exhibit A" so to speak of evidence of so-called police brutality. CONNOR is a "Beale Street character"

having the reputation of being a "hustler." He has been involved in minor vice, drinking, and possibly dope. He loafs a lot at the Avalon Pool Room.

WATSON keeps telling anyone who will listen that on Friday, 9/27/68, CONNOR was arrested at a Firestone-Thomas St. pool room by a white officer and a Negro officer, both of the MPD. The PD officers drove him off to a secluded spot, beat him, sprayed an overdose of Mace in his face, burning same and causing it to peel and burn. He was allegedly charged with loitering and gambling.

WINE or WATSON bragged that he will exploit this arrest for two purposes: 1) to get publicity and 2) to get even with the PD because so many Invaders have been arrested by the PD in recent weeks.

WATSON by his emotional talk excited CONNOR on 10/2/68.

Physical Retaliative Statements of WILLIE CONNOR

CONNOR said he was going to "get even with the police" stating he was "bitter" and that if he found the officer who "Maced" him he would literally "cut out his heart." He said he would get "even" one way or another. He stated one officer's name was JONES.

Offering of 30.30 Rifle by (FNU) STRONG

A bystander, (FNU) STRONG, a young male Negro, overhearing CONNOR threaten violence against the police, told CONNOR that he (STRONG) had a new 30.30 rifle which had "never been used" and he (CONNOR) was welcome to use it. STRONG was driving a late model Pontiac LeMans bearing 1968 Tennessee license KO-1173. About this time Invaders VERDELL BROOKS, CHARLES HARRINGTON, and OREE MC KENZIE walked up and STRONG stopped talking.

Records of Shelby County Court Clerk's Office, Auto Registration, per Clerk MARIE LITTLE disclosed 1968 Tennessee license KO-1173 is registered to J. STEELE, residence 2162

Berkley St., Memphis, for a 1968 Pontiac LeMans hardtop. No J. STEELE is listed in the City Directory. The 1968-69 crisscross phone directory lists one DOROTHY ANDERSON, phone #276-5813 at 2162 Berkley.

Thereafter, WATSON (WINE) called the press and television stations complaining about CONNOR's arrest. WHITTIER SENGSTACKE, JR., of Tri-State Defender, is known to have interviewed CONNOR. All of the Invaders, such as WINE, BROOKS, MC KENZIE, and HARRINGTON were trying to identify the arresting officers.

WINE had a notebook and was conducting interviews like an investigator.

WINE said on 10/3/68 he planned to take CONNOR to the official opening of the police community relations office, 1310 Florida, and show him to the press and city officials who would be there, in an effort to get publicity and to embarrass the PD.

Later on 10/3/68 [redacted] said WINE did take CONNOR to 1310 Florida and that newspaper reporters and television cameramen interviewed WINE and CONNOR "playing right into their hands."

WILLIE CONNOR gave his address as 240 Hernando St., c/o GLADYS TABLE.

He also inferred he sometimes stays at 614 Mississippi. This information was orally furnished to Lt. J. C. DAVIS, MPD, Intelligence Unit, 10/3/68.

Addendum as Furnished by [redacted]
Reporter for the Press-Scimitar

Later on 10/3/68 [redacted] reporter, Press-Scimitar newspaper, advised SA WILLIAM H. LAWRENCE [redacted] covered the opening of PD's community relations sub-office at 1310 Florida on 10/3/68 (morning). [redacted] saw LANCE "SWEET WILLIE" WATSON about a block north, saw REGINALD FERGUSON outside, and saw PD Detective E. E. REDDITT.

Finally "SWEET WILLIE" WATSON accompanied by Invader MAURICE LEWIS arrived. They had with them a 23 year old Negro named WILLIE CONNOR.

Information Re WILLIE CONNOR

They had him dressed in a new blue denim work clothes outfit. He is about 23, said he lived at 349 Hernando St., told [redacted] that he was in a pool room at Firestone and Thomas on Friday night, 9/27/68. Two police officers in Car #21, one officer was white and the other a Negro, arrested him. They drove him off and beat him as well as sprayed him in the face with Mace for 2 hours.

He has skin peeling from his forehead and has his left foot bandaged.

WATSON and LEWIS said they brought CONNOR knowing the news media would be present and they could "use CONNOR to embarrass police, who are trying to build a good image in black neighborhoods."

REGINALD FERGUSON, in referring to 1310 Florida, said, "This is a pretty nice place, but it's actually the black man's headquarters. We're going to take care of it," inferring he and the Invaders would destroy it.

OREE MC KENZIE was observed about a block away coming out of a sundry store or grill north of 1310 Florida.

CONNOR complained to REDDITT about his treatment by the police, and REDDITT referred him to Internal Security Squad of the PD.

JOHN SPENCE, white male, of the U. S. Civil Rights Commission office, Federal Office Building, was present and "took prolific notes" re CONNOR's situation.

RECOMMENDATION:

[redacted]

DEPARTMENTAL COMMUNICATION

ASD 94

TO: *Lt.* [redacted]
Intelligence Division

FROM: *Det.* [redacted]
Community Relations Bureau

SUBJECT: [redacted]

DATE: *September 27, 1968*

[redacted]

[redacted]

[redacted]

[redacted]

FBI-Withers-1131

DECLASSIFICATION AUTHORITY DERIVED FROM:
FBI AUTOMATIC DECLASSIFICATION GUIDE
DATE 03 07 2012

SAC (157-1067) 10/22/68

SA WILLIAM H. LAWRENCE

BLACK ORGANIZING PROJECT (BOP), aka
RM

On 10/3/68 [redacted] advised that recently the controversial Negro, ROSETTA MILLER, of the U. S. Civil Rights Commission office in Memphis, married a teacher at Hamilton High School, who was from Pittsburgh. The marriage lasted only one week. MILLER has since left town, either quitting her job or being transferred to another location.

1 - 157-1067
(1) - 170-70-Sub, ME 338-R(Ghetto)
WHL:LF
(2)

170-70-Sub [redacted]
SEARCHED
SERIALIZED
INDEXED
FILED
OCT 22 1968
FBI — MEMPHIS

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : SAC (157-1067) DATE: 10/21/68

FROM : SA WILLIAM H. LAWRENCE

SUBJECT: BLACK ORGANIZING PROJECT (BOP),
aka Invaders
RM

On 10/3/68 [redacted] advised SA LOWE and LAWRENCE as follows:

CIRCUMSTANTIAL EVIDENCE OF CRIMINAL ACTIVITIES OF BOP - CLIFFORD L. TAYLOR AND CHARLES L. CABBAGE

CLIFFORD LOUIS TAYLOR, Negro male, one of the original BOP members and close associate of BOP founder CHARLES CABBAGE, is a habituate of the criminal hangouts in the Beale Street and downtown areas of Memphis. He does not work yet always seems to have money. He has an expensive new wardrobe of casual clothes and recently had considerable work done on his 1966 white Chevrolet Super Sport Impala, bearing Tennessee license KR-3692.

On or about 9/30/68 he was desperately trying to find CHARLES CABBAGE. VERDELL BROOKS said CABBAGE was in Atlanta, Ga., "mooching" off his girlfriend, ANN GOLAR.

1 - 157-1067, BOP
1 - 170-70-Sub, ME 338-R(Ghetto)
1 - 157-1403, [redacted]
1 - 157-556, POSSIBLE RACIAL VIOLENCE, MAJOR URBAN AREAS
1 - 100-4575, [redacted]
1 - 100-4528,
1 - 157-1118,
1 - 157-1405,
1 - 66-1687-Sub, Dissemination
WHL:LF
(9)

170-70-Sub - [redacted]
SEARCHED ... INDEXED
SERIALIZED ... FILED
OCT 23 1968
FBI — MEMPHIS

FBI-Withers-1132

CLIFFORD said he knew this, but was looking for her new address, as she has moved to some new place in Atlanta.

CLIFFORD TAYLOR was concerned because the "Burglary Squad" of the Memphis PD was investigating a burglary involving the theft of a pistol (the suspect or person arrested had allegedly implicated CLIFFORD). CLIFFORD said he had had the pistol but had given it back to the fellow, not named.

CLIFFORD obviously is engaged in some sort of illicit activities. He changes clothes often, sometimes two or three times a day.

INFORMATION REGARDING NEWBERN ROOKS

Another Invader associate, NEWBERN ROOKS, who was living with his parents at 2571 Park Ave., may become a problem. His parents have allegedly separated, and he is now "floating from place to place."

DON NEELY MISSING

DON NEELY, AWOL from the U. S. Army, is missing. The "word" from Beale Street haunts, where he spent most of his time, is that he has left town and may be with CABBAGE.

INFORMATION REGARDING REUBEN N. WATTS, aka Peter Rabbit

Another associate of Invaders and BOP cell, the Downtown Association, REUBEN WATTS, is no longer working in the cafe at Fourth and Calhoun. WATTS says he is now attending Memphis State University (MSU). He has the nickname of "Peter Rabbit." He is reported to have been a source of marijuana and pep pills for the Invaders during the Summer of 1968.

WATTS recently told [redacted] that he had been to see HAROLD WHATLUM, president of the Union Protective Life Insurance Co., seeking financial assistance in staring a wholesale drug business. [redacted] said there is no doubt in his mind that WATTS wants to get into the "illegal drug traffic." WATTS said that WHALUM referred him to JOHN T. FISH, president of John T. Fisher Motor Co. (Chrysler-Plymouth dealer) and that FISHER put him in touch with a professor at MSU who arranged for WATTS to take two night courses at MSU in business in preparation for getting into the drug business.

In a conversation on 9/30/68 WATTS openly advocated the unrestricted use of narcotics, pep pills and marijuana.

[redacted] made available up-to-date photographs of WATTS taken 10/2/68.

WATTS, if he is still married, is not living with his wife. He is living near the downtown area of Memphis. He did have an old Pontiac, but it has been repossessed by the finance company or bank.

On 10/4/68 this information was furnished to Lt. E. H. ARKIN, Intelligence Bureau, Memphis PD.

FBI Withers 1134

DEPARTMENTAL COMMUNICATION

ASD 4

TO: Inspector [redacted]
Inspectional Bureau

FROM: Lt. [redacted]
Intelligence Bureau

SUBJECT: [redacted]

DATE: September 18, 1968

Re: 695 St Paul

FBI-Withers-1137

DATE 03-07-2012

SAC (157-1067) 11/4/68

SA WILLIAM H. LAWRENCE

BLACK ORGANIZING PROJECT, aka
Invaders
RM

On 9/2/68 [redacted] advised SA LAWRENCE as follows:

CAR OF JOHN W. WHITE

JOHN W. WHITE, Negro male, schoolteacher, east Arkansas, and current buddy of CHARLES L. CABBAGE, drives a 1966 black Chevrolet Super Sport, bearing Shelby County, Tenn., license KR-6491.

HELEN WASHINGTON IN PENAL FARM

Several Negroes have said that HELEN WASHINGTON, Negro female, [redacted] who was spending considerable time with CHARLES CABBAGE (immediately after 7/27 or 28/68 burglary of CME Church headquarters, 531 S. Parkway East) is in the Shelby County Penal Farm.

INFO RE "CHARLIE MAN" YOUNG

"CHARLIE MAN" YOUNG, Beale St. character who messed with Invaders in Spring 1968 and who has recently written letters to CABBAGE's girlfriend, EDWINA HARRELL, is also in the Penal Farm. He did run a lot with the downtown gang of BOP, such as DON NEELY, HERMAN PREWITT, etc.

INFO RE SCLC

Some activity regarding SCLC still exists in the vicinity of the Lorraine Motel.

1 - 157-1067
1 - 170-70-Sub. ME 338-R (Ghetto)
1 - 157-[redacted]
1 - 157-556, POSSIBLE RACIAL VIOLENCE, MAJOR URBAN AREAS
1 - 100-4528, [redacted]
1 - 157-1070, [redacted]
1 - 157-166, SCLC
1 - 157-1472, [redacted]

WHL:LF
(8)

170 70-Sub
NOV 4 - 1968
FBI — MEMPHIS

FBI Witners 1528

The young Negro male who wears Invader jacket and who has a monkey-like appearance and wears gold earring, who was with Invaders at City Hall 8/20/68, says he is EDDIE TATE, son of ELLIS TATE, the Negro who was shot the night of 4/4/68 in the act of looting a liquor store at Trigg and Florida. He is in Room 10, and WALTER "BILL" BAILEY, owner of the Lorraine, feels sorry for him. TATE is bitter and appears to be mentally unbalanced.

Also at the Lorraine is a dirty beatnik type, white, from New York, N. Y., area, here with SCLC working in connection with SCLC Marks, Miss., food warehouse on Florida St.

The girl in charge is a female Negro, name FAYE POSCHE.

REPRODUCTION OF MATERIAL FORM

CONGRESSIONAL INQUIRY UNIT

DATE July 20, 1978

The following material has been reproduced for excising and review at FBIHQ and/or delivery to the House Select Committee on Assassinations:
(See Bufile 62-117290; re HSCA request dated 7-5-78)

Memphis

FILE NO. 170-70

SECTION

SERIALS through

(except following serials not in file on this date:)

EBF or BULKY:

Number of copies made CMT By JTA

RETAIN THIS FORM AS TOP SERIAL

OPTIONAL FORM NO. 10
MAY 1962 EDITION
GSA GEN. REG. NO. 27
5010-104

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

DECLASSIFICATION AUTHORITY DERIVED FROM
FBI AUTOMATIC DECLASSIFICATION GUIDE
DATE 02-27-2012

TO : SAC (157-1067) DATE: 11/22/68

FROM : SA WILLIAM H. LAWRENCE

SUBJECT: BLACK ORGANIZING PROJECT (BOP), aka
RM

On 9/27/68 [redacted] advised writer that CLIFFORD LOUIS TAYLOR is still not working, apparently living by his wits, and suspected to be involved in either burglary or check passing or other illicit activities, due to the fact that he always seems to have a large roll of bills, wears expensive clothes, and is definitely not working. Further, he has recently moved into the allegedly new apartment on Crockett Street near his brother, EDWARD REED TAYLOR.

CLIFFORD is strictly a criminal-minded individual. The One-Hour Martinizing Cleaning Service recently lost two of his suits, which were actually cheap suits, and yet CLIFFORD went to Paul's Tailor Shop at 3rd and Beale and conned them into certifying that he had purchased two suits from them for approximately $150 apiece and is going to try to collect $300 from the dry cleaners.

1-157-1067
1-170-70-Sub - NE 338-R (Ghetto)
1-100-4575
1-25-14636
1-100-4528
1-157-
1-157-1326
1-157-1114
1-157-1116
1-157-1277
1-157-
1-157-927
1-157-1061
1-157-1263
1-157-1018
1-157-1230
1-157-1000
1-105-160 - NOI
1-157-1446
1-157-1570
1-157-1495
WHL:wp
(21)

[redacted]

170-70-Sub
SEARCHED ..... INDEXED
SERIALIZED ✓ FILED ✓
NOV 22 1968
FBI — MEMPHIS

CLIFFORD has told informant that CHARLES CABBAGE is still in Atlanta, Georgia, and later showed informant an invoice which he had concocted himself on Paul's Tailor Shop stationery indicating that he was going to ask $320 from the Martinizing service. Informant pointed out that actually this would not tend to implicate PAUL VESCOVO, operator of Paul's Tailor Shop, and that CLIFFORD apparently had illicitly obtained a piece of PAUL's stationery.

CLIFFORD is still running heavy with "PIGGY" (previously identified by PD undercover agent [redacted] code name [redacted] as one of the strongest pushers of marijuana in the Beale Street area).

"PIGGY" has two brothers who look very much like him. One of the brothers runs with RICHARD NEELY, brother of DON NEELY, both of whom have been close associates of CHARLES CABBAGE and CLIFFORD TAYLOR in the Downtown Association faction of the Black Organizing Project, during the summer of 1968.

Informant recently saw one of "PIGGY's" brothers in front of a drug store at Lauderdale and Parkway.

"PIGGY" has a brother who has a late model Buick, and the other Beale Street pusher who has sold a lot of marijuana to Invaders, JIGGS or GIGGS, was recently observed in an old car with a drive-out tag, the tag number being unascertainable.

It is obvious that "PIGGY" is also a pimp in the Beale Street area, pimping numerous Negro girls.

DON NEELY, brother of RICHARD NEELY, who has been in an AWOL status, has disappeared. His whereabouts is not known.

On the evening of 9/26/68 VERDELL "GEE-GEE" BROOKS, MARRELL McCOLLOUGH, both of the Invaders, were around collecting money to buy food to take to Invaders JOHN HENRY FERGUSON and JOHN B. SMITH, who are currently in jail on peace bonds.

Also, EMMETT HOUSE of the Invaders, and JAMES E. PHILLIPS, a former Invader, were collecting money for food for these individuals, and it appears that these

FBI-Withers-1138

individuals are using this as a pretext to raise money for their own benefit, telling businessmen and others that they are raising money to take food to the prisoners.

GERALD FANION has purchased a liquor store on South Lauderdale near Parkway. FANION is still West Tennessee Director of Tennessee Council on Human Relations. He purchased the liquor store through money provided by a silent partner, TOMMY WILLIS, Comptroller of the Universal Life Insurance Company, and brother of the prominent Memphis Negro attorney and State Legislator ARCHIE W. WILLIS, JR.

FANION has recently taken cigarettes to some of the Invaders who are in the Memphis and Shelby County Jails.

At the infancy of the Memphis City Hospital strike, sponsored by the American Federation of State, County, and Municipal Employees (AFSCME), LARRY LARUE DAVIS of the Invaders attempted to get into the strike in order to make some money, which they hoped would be provided by the union, but T. O. JONES, president of Local 1733 of the union, ran LARRY DAVIS and ARTHUR NORWOOD away from the union headquarters, stating that he did not trust them.

Informant heard LARRY DAVIS was recently back in jail and his parents have no control over him. His father is allegedly a minister and his mother allegedly teaches in the Memphis Public School system.

CLINTON ROY JAMERSON, a recent LeMoyne College student, not now in school, who lives in North Memphis, is ostensibly seriously trying to get a job.

Another Invader who is to be reckoned with in informant's opinion in the future is MELVIN SMITH, who has actually done a lot of reading concerning the Afro-American movement, and is probably more studious than the average Invader. MELVIN seems to be somewhat serious in hoping to get a job as he wants to become self-sufficient.

JAMERSON claimed that JAMES E. PHILLIPS, an associate, may get a scholarship to a school in the Philadelphia area which specializes in social studies.

FBI-Withers-1139

A singing group called the "Ovations" headed by LOUIS WILLIAMS are now going around the downtown area claiming to be members of the Black Muslims or the Nation of Islam. This group in the past has been strong users of Robitussinac, the codiene based cough syrup, which so many Negroes like.

AL BELL, an official of Stax Records, who is a Negro and who has considerable philosophical interest, has been a strong supporter of JOHN GARY WILLIAMS, one of the Invaders and lead singer in the singing group which records for Stax known as "Mad Lads" and is the one who got WILLIAMS out of jail on bond, WILLIAMS having been one of the three Invaders, the others being WOMAX LEE STEVENSON and BEN BERRY, all three charged with the rifle sniping of a Memphis Police officer on the night of 8/23/68.

EMMETT HOUSE is still loafing.

WILLIE WINE recently indicated that he and MELVIN SMITH can get $100 a week extortion money from the D&F Liquor Store at Trigg and Florida, which is located some 23 feet south of the Negro Baptist Church just north of it on Florida Street.

Recently CHARLES HARRINGTON and VERDELL BROOKS indicated that the Invaders are keeping EDWINA JEANETTA HARRELL, girlfriend of CHARLES CABBAGE, in the background due to the fact that both she and CABBAGE are out on bond on third degree burglary charges.

A few days prior to interview, informant observed CHARLES CABBAGE driving the black or navy blue 1966 model Chevrolet Super Sport Coupe owned by school teacher, JOHN W. WHITE, a male Negro. CABBAGE had a lot of people in this car, and informant did not ascertain their identities.

FBI-Withers-1140

OPTIONAL FORM NO. 10
MAY 1962 EDITION
GSA GEN. REG. NO. 27

5010-108

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : SAC (157-1067)

DATE: 11/22/68

FROM : SA WILLIAM H. LAWRENCE

SUBJECT: BLACK ORGANIZING PROJECT (BOP), aka
RM

On 10/9/68 [redacted] advised writer that Black Powerite CLIFFORD LOUIS TAYLOR is still driving his 1966 white Impala Super Sport hardtop convertible with the "souped-up" engine. He is not working, has a lot of expensive clothes, and runs with the Beale Street character who has previously sold "Muhammad Speaks" but who apparently is not a member of NOI and who is considered by informant to be a Beale Street hustler. TAYLOR has also been seen by informant in the 300 block of Beale Street with the individual known as "PIGGY," not further identified, who has been identified by PD undercover agent [redacted] (code name [redacted] on several occasions during the summer of 1968 as a pusher of marijuana and legend drugs in the Beale Street area.

1-157-1067 - BOP
1-170-70-Sub - MX 338-R (Ghetto)
1-100-4575 - [redacted]
1-157- -
1-157-1277 -
1-157-1173 -
1-157-1019 -
1-157-957 -
1-157-1118 -
1-100-4528 -
1-25-14636 -
1-157-1111 -
1-170-1102 -
1-157-1000 -
1-170-1024 -
1-157- -
1-157-1258 -
1-157-166 - SCLC
1-100-4709 - [redacted]
1-157- -
1-157-1516 - AFSCME
WHL:wp
(21)

170-70- [redacted]

SEARCHED ___ INDEXED ___
SERIALIZED ___ FILED ___
NOV 26 1968
FBI — MEMPHIS

DECLASSIFICATION AUTHORITY DERIVED FROM
FBI AUTOMATIC DECLASSIFICATION GUIDE
DATE 12-27-2012

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to File No.

Memphis, Tennessee
November 23, 1968

RE: BLACK ORGANIZING PROJECT;
RACIAL MATTERS

On November 21, 1968, a first and second source advised that LeMoyne-Owen College, 825 Walker Avenue, Memphis, Tennessee, a Negro institution, has approximately 625 students. This is a private school and that prior to November 21, 1968, there had been no student disturbances at the school during the 1968-69 school year.

Sources advised that during the week ending November 15, 1968, LeMoyne had "Inquiry Week" bringing in a series of outside speakers to discuss current issues of the day and that on November 15, 1968, Colby Vernon Smith, one of the original founders of the Black Organizing Project (BOP), Memphis, Tennessee, a characterization of which is attached hereto, told the students they were not doing enough and that they should initiate some action to assert their independence of the school administration.

Beginning during the week commencing November 18, 1968, some of the older students had presented a series of demands to President Hollis F. Price, Owen-LeMoyne College, seeking better food in the school cafeteria, cheaper food prices, more off campus activities to be permitted on campus, and a greater student participation in the overall operation of the school.

These sources advised that beginning November 21, 1968, some of the students began a mild protest whereby they would take turns sitting in the halls of Brownlee Hall, the main administration building, and that many of them would come in and sit in the unoccupied chairs of the reception room of Dr. Price's office. No physical interference or disruptive tactics transpired on November 21, 1968, until in the early afternoon thereof, Lance "Sweet Willie Wine" Watson, current leader of the Invaders, a cell of the BOP, came to the campus in an effort to inject the Invaders into the student unrest.

SERIALIZED 161

On November 22, 1968, sources one and two as well as sources three and four all advised that they had

INDEXED 154

FBI-Withers-1530

170-70. Sent

since learned that on November 21, 1968, that Watson called a meeting of the students and that some of the students saw fit to meet with him and that when one of the students, since identified as Robert Carter, commented that he did not want to hear that "crazy" Watson talk that one of Watson's Invader associates, identity not known, described as wearing a beret and a gold ear ring, pulled a pistol on Carter threatening him with physical injury if he did not attend the meeting.

Sources advised that this information later got to Dr. Hollis F. Price and that the lad with the Invaders who pulled the pistol braggod to Dr. Price that he had been the one who pointed the pistol at one of Dr. Price's students.

All four sources advised that no charges have been placed against this person and that, thus far, the LeMoyne officials feel that they can handle the situation without calling in the assistance of the Memphis Police Department.

On November 22, 1968, a fifth source advised that it had been reliably learned that the Invador who pulled the pistol on Robert Carter was Robert Lee Wilson, also known as "Corn Bread," born August 7, 1949, Memphis, Tennessee; parent, R. L. Wilson; residence, 139 West Fields, Memphis.

On November 22, 1968, Professor R. B. Thompson, Carver High School, Memphis, Tennessee, advised that Robert Lee Wilson had entered Carver on August 30, 1962, and had been dismissed from school during the school year of 1965-66 due to the fact that he kicked a teacher in the groin.

Later on November 22, 1968, source five advised that he had learned that Lance Watson and some of his Invader associates were going back to LeMoyne to create a disturbance.

On the afternoon of November 22, 1968, sources one and five advised that Watson and some of his followers had gone to LeMoyne, some having wooden sticks or billyclubs

in their possession, to the student center stating that they were seeking Robert Carter and were going to "whip" him because he had dared "finger" "Corn Bread" to Dr. Price. Source five and source one later advised that nothing transpired as a result of this visit by Watson and his group.

On first learning of this information, it was immediately disseminated to Lt. E. H. Arkin, Intelligence Bureau, Memphis Police Department, who later on the afternoon of November 22, 1968, advised that he had checked the area upon receiving the information and had seen Watson and one of his associates leaving the general area of the LeMoyne campus and that to date no calls for assistance had been received by the Memphis Police Department on behalf of any of the LeMoyne personnel.

On November 22, 1968, source four advised that a meeting of the LeMoyne-Owen Alumni was to be held on the night of November 22, 1968, and that some of the LeMoyne students planned to picket this meeting and after the termination of the meeting wanted to meet with the alumni to present some of their demands hoping that the influence of the alumni would prevail upon the administration to accede thereto. This information was also furnished to Lt. Arkin upon receipt.

Also this information was disseminated to William Bray of the 111th Military Intelligence Group, Third Army, Memphis, Tennessee.

FBI-Withers-1532

FD-56 (Rev. 12-19-66)

DECLASSIFICATION AUTHORITY DERIVED FROM
FBI AUTOMATIC DECLASSIFICATION GUIDE
DATE 02 27 2012

FBI

Date: 11/23/68
PLAINTEXT

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plain text or code)

Via AIRTEL
(Priority or Method of Mailing)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (157-8460)

FROM: SAC, MEMPHIS (157-1067) (P)

SUBJECT: BLACK ORGANIZING PROJECT (BOP), aka
Invaders;
RM

Re Memphis letterhead memorandum dated 11/15/68.

Enclosed for the Bureau are 11 copies of LHM captioned as above and dated 11/23/68.

Copies of LHM are being furnished to regional offices of Military Intelligence, U. S. Attorney and U. S. Secret Service, Memphis, Tennessee.

Source One is [redacted]

Source Two is [redacted]

3-Bureau (Encs. 11) (RM)
11-Memphis
(1 - 157-1067 BOP)
(1 - 157-556 Possible Racial Violence Major Urban Areas)
(1 - 157-1423 - BUF)
(1 - 157-1458 - [redacted]
(1 - 157-1583 - [redacted]
(1 - 170-117 - [redacted]
(1 - 170-70 - SUB, ME 338-R)
(1 - 170-45 - [redacted]
(1 - 170-114 - [redacted]
(1 - 134-36 - [redacted]
(1 - 66-1687 SUB-A - Dissemination File)

WHL:PEH
(14)

170-70-Sub [redacted]

Approved: _____ Sent _____ M Per _____
Special Agent in Charge

FBI-Withers-1533

Source Three is [redacted]

Source 4 is [redacted]

Source 5 is [redacted]

LEAD:

MEMPHIS DIVISION

AT MEMPHIS, TENNESSEE

Will continue to follow and report pertinent Invader and BOP activities.

FBI-Withers-1534

DECLASSIFICATION AUTHORITY DERIVED FROM:
FBI AUTOMATIC DECLASSIFICATION GUIDE
DATE: 02-07-2012

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

In Reply, Please Refer to File No.

Memphis, Tennessee
November 27, 1968

Re: BLACK ORGANIZING PROJECT (BOP),
RACIAL MATTERS

STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY (SDS)
INTERNAL SECURITY - SDS

On November 23, 1968, a first source advised that the students at LeMoyne-Owen College, Memphis, Tennessee, after three days of minor disturbances, during which a local group of Negroes headed by Lance "Sweet Willie Wine" Watson and his group which he interchangeably calls the Invaders and the Black United Front, had appeared on the campus intimidating students, during which time one of the Invaders pulled a pistol on one of the LeMoyne students. The source advised that the LeMoyne students had presented to the administration a series of demands which included opening certain college buildings for longer hours, changing the way grade point averages are computed, lowering cafeteria prices, lowering tuition, improving the book store, adding more black history courses, and ending required attendance at assemblies.

Source one stated that the faculty and administration would meet on Monday, November 25, 1968, to consider these demands.

On November 25, 1968, a second source advised that on November 22, 1968, members of the Invaders who are now using the interchangeable name, Black United Front (BUF), met, including Melvin Smith, Lance "Sweet Willie Wine" Watson, John Charles Smith, Lewis Welch, Chiquita Smith, also known as Chaceatuh Smith, Roy Lee Turks, and Maurice Lewis, at LeMoyne-Owen College where they were joined by Coby Vernon Smith, one of the original 1967 formers of the Invaders and who is now a student at Southwestern College at Memphis. Also present were Dennis Henderson and Willie Taylor, along with (First Name Unknown) Fisher, a senior at LeMoyne College, and one Willie (Last Name Unknown), a student at LeMoyne College. The abovementioned individuals met with

FBI Withers 1142

SERIALIZED ____
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170-70-

one Donald Payne Stone, a Field Representative of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) of Atlanta, Georgia, who discussed the student grievances at LeMoyne-Owen College, it being understood that Coby Vernon Smith had originally goaded the students into making these demands when he spoke at "Inquiry Week" on November 15, 1968.

(Characterizations of the Black Organizing Project (BOP), Students for a Democratic Society (SDS), and the SNCC are set forth in the Appendix Section of this communication.)

COBY VERNON SMITH

On June 5, 1967, a tenth source advised that Coby Smith attended the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) National Committee Plenum held at 783 Broadway, New York City, New York, June 2, 3 and 4, 1967.

(The SWP has been designated by the Attorney General of the United States pursuant to Executive Order 10450.)

The second source stated that the student named Fisher was in favor of settling the grievances and did not want any violence, stating that he had insufficient student support to do anything of a violent or dramatic nature. Melvin Smith of the Invaders and BUF was overheard to say that he wanted to "kill crackers and Uncle Toms" and Coby Smith then stated that they had enough students to do this and that they could do anything they wanted to do or made up their minds to do.

Later on the evening of November 22, 1968, Lance "Sweet Willie Wine" Watson, Lewis Welch, and Chaceatuh Smith, the Secretary of the Invaders, tried to convince Fisher that he needed outside help in his problem; and Donald Stone stated that this is in effect a small but definitely black revolution and that a similar revolution is going on all over the United States. Stone further stated that in order to be successful in this regard any internal movement such as student unrest must have the help of outsiders, and that it needed to be turned

into a community effort.

Donald Stone left the meeting with Coby Smith and "Willie Wine" stated "We are the Invaders and the black people's army. He further stated to Fisher, "We are going to help you whether you want us to or not."

At this point, LeMoyne-Owen College student, Dennis Henderson, appeared to become the leader of the student movement and told "Willie Wine" that he wanted Wine and the Invaders to help them, as the students needed all the help they could get. Willie Taylor volunteered to get together at least 20 male Negroes on the LeMoyne campus to protect all of the students who would take part in any demonstration against the school. Dennis Henderson stated that beginning at 8:30 a.m. on Monday, November 25, 1968, that they would break up into different groups and disrupt LeMoyne and the classes being held therein, and that at 10:30 a.m. they would call a mass meeting and would then decide how to disrupt classes and harass the faculty and administration. He stated that at 4:40 p.m., November 25, 1968, the faculty was to have a meeting in the library to discuss student grievances, that the students would take the grievances to the faculty at this time, and that if they did not get a favorable answer, they would lock the library and hold the faculty participants as hostages.

Source two advised that on November 23, 1968, a group of members of the Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) met. Included in this group were Memphis State University (MSU) students Laura C. Ingram and Cynthia Berman, along with Laura C. Ingram's boy friend, with whom she is living at 174 Somerville, John Martin Gardner, III, and John Ash, the operator of a Planters Peanut stand on South Main Street. Also in this group were Ann Twiggs, Memphis State University student; Kathleen Summerall, Memphis State University student; Muriel Patterson, Negro female, the girl friend of Edward M. Carter, Jr., also known as "Ted" Carter, who is one of the SDS leaders; and James Earl Gaylord, who is a night student at Memphis State University and an employee of the Collection Department, Internal Revenue Service, U. S. Treasury Department, Memphis, Tennessee. This group subsequently split up with Laura Ingram,

BLACK ORGANIZING PROJECT (BOP);
STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY (SDS)

John Gardner, Ann Twiggs, and Kathleen Summerall going to the Invaders or Black United Front (BUF) office at the Clayborn Temple, AME Church, 280 Hernando Street, Memphis, Tennessee. At Clayborn Temple, they met with Invaders Lance Watson, Roy Turks, Lewis Welch, Chaceatuh Smith, John C. Smith, and one Marlene (last name unknown), a Negro female, and Robert Lee "Cornbread" Wilson. Watson led a discussion as to what the group should do at LeMoyne College on November 25, 1968, about the student grievances. Watson wanted the SDS to help them in the demonstrations. He stated that they planned to get the faculty locked in the library and that SDS could bring food and supplies to the Invaders and cooperative students who were engaged in this operation. Everyone agreed to do this and it was found that Ted Carter had planned a subsequent SDS meeting at Memphis State University November 25, 1968, at 3:30 p.m. to plan further actions.

James Earl Gaylord stated that he would bring up the discussion of support of the LeMoyne students at this meeting and was positive that everyone would go along with this, at which time Lance "Sweet Willie Wine" Watson stated that the black power people were depending upon the assistance of SDS.

Also on the morning of November 25, 1968, a third source advised that he had learned over the weekend that Dennis Henderson, the LeMoyne student leader, had been meeting with one Frank Brewer, Choir Director of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC) Freedom Singers, a recent arrival in Memphis from Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. Frank Brewer had come to Memphis with one Donald Stone, a Field Representative of SNCC from Atlanta, Georgia, who source three described as being about 32 to 35 years of age, bearded, high Afro hair, medium brown complexion, a male Negro, 6 feet tall, husky or fat in build, weighing approximately 220 pounds, and wearing steel-rimmed granny glasses, who had come to Memphis apparently at the behest of Coby Vernon Smith, who was one of the original founders of the BOP movement in Memphis, Tennessee, during 1967.

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BLACK ORGANIZING PROJECT (BOP);
STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY (SDS)

The third source advised that some of the original Invaders who had not been active in Invader activity in the past three months, namely Charles Harrington and some of his associates, had indicated that they, too, planned to inject themselves into the student demands at LeMoyne-Owen College.

Source three confirmed the fact that Wine and his group had met with a LeMoyne student committee on the afternoon and evening of Saturday, November 23, 1968, to make plans for their action on November 25, 1968. This group was particularly angry because when some of the students had tried to lay down in the halls during the previous week in order to harass the administration at LeMoyne, a white male who is a teacher of Philosophy and Religion named Paul Hays had allegedly stepped on the chest of one of the students who was laying in the hall and this angered the black students. Source three stated that it was obvious that the situation which touched off the student demands was the chidings of Coby Vernon Smith made during "Inquiry Week," wherein he told the LeMoyne-Owen students that they were not doing anything, that they were traitors to their race, that they should rise up and assert themselves and make known their demands for settlement of grievances to the administration of the college.

On November 25, 1968, source one stated that he was aware of the fact that the students might try to take over one or more of the LeMoyne buildings or hold some of the faculty members hostage and that he did not desire to have anyone arrested unless absolutely necessary and that he felt that the LeMoyne officials could work out their own problems, provided there were not too many outside agitators who injected themselves into it. He pointed out that LeMoyne has approximately seven hundred students, all but a few of whom are Negroes, and that LeMoyne has approximately seventy faculty and staff members. He stated that the faculty would meet with some of the students around 4:30 p.m., November 25, 1968, to discuss demands. Later source one stated that the meeting had been moved up until 2 p.m. in order to get most of the meeting over during daylight hours.

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BLACK ORGANIZING PROJECT (BOP);
STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY (SDS)

On November 25, 1968, source four basically confirmed information furnished by source one, adding that the students were being advised that they might lose their Federally secured student loans if they engaged in disruptive activities.

On November 25, 1968, a fifth source advised that the SDS group hard core had met around 3:30 p.m. at the Westminster House, a Presbyterian student center adjacent to the Memphis State University (MSU) campus, in a meeting which lasted from approximately 3:30 p.m. to 4:30 p.m. on November 25, 1968, to discuss plans to participate in the demonstrations at LeMoyne College. This meeting was chaired by Edward M. "Ted" Carter, Jr., who was assisted by James Earl Gaylord and Laura C. Ingram. Pertinent attendees in addition to those listed above were Kathleen Summerall, Warren Wayne Zapp, Robert Rutman, Ann Twiggs, Thomas J. McAllister, Michael Holliday, Virginia Dow, one John or Mike Gambill (phonetic), and Richard Moon, a Presbyterian Minister who is Director of the Westminster House, and a theological student, Robert Matlock, both of whom are members of the local chapter of SDS, according to source five.

Also meeting with them was David Acey who is the Coordinator of the Black Student Association (BSA), a group of Memphis State University (MSU) Negro students who are affiliated with the over-all black power group in Memphis known as the Black Organizing Project (BOP).

It was brought out at the meeting that Lance Watson who is head of the Invaders had invited SDS to help in the LeMoyne demonstrations through the intervention of Ted Carter, Laura Ingram, and James Earl Gaylord; and it was brought out that the SDS group would primarily furnish food, blankets, and equipment for the Invaders and key LeMoyne student participants who would engage in any disruptive or sit-in activities on the LeMoyne campus.

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BLACK ORGANIZING PROJECT (BOP);
STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY (SDS)

At approximately 4:45 p.m., parts of this group took off en route to the LeMoyne campus, including Virginia Dow, Thomas McAllister, Laura Ingram, and Ann Twiggs, along with Kathleen Summerall, Robert Rutman, Michael Holliday, and Edward M. Carter, Jr. The bulk of this group joined the LeMoyne students who by this time had conducted a sit-in in the Main Administration Building known as Brown Lee Hall. The students locked the doors from the inside and would not allow any unauthorized person inside the building, and a small group was contacted by a Negro on a motorcycle who talked to Willie Wine and some of the students and who was riding the area getting reinforcements. This Negro wears a black glove beneath which is a large ring to which is attached a hooked knife blade.

Inside the Administration Building, it was decided that the group, by this time consisting of a group of Invaders, members of the SDS, and a few LeMoyne students, would sit in the building and occupy it until the administration met all of the student demands. In the meantime, Lance Watson and some of his associates toured the neighborhood going into the LeMoyne Gardens Housing Project operated by the Memphis Housing Authority (MHA) and occupied exclusively by Negroes seeking help.

He apparently received very little response.

Willie Wine stated that he planned to break the city down into districts and that each district would have an Invaders leader who would be responsible for getting help for such situations as this.

Around 6:30 p.m., November 25, 1968, according to source five, Willie Wine and some of the Invaders went to the Invaders or BUF Headquarters in the southeast corner of Clayborn Temple AME Church where there were approximately six to ten Negroes present, plus a young male white of medium height, with red hair, and wearing horn-rimmed glasses. There they obtained a .22 caliber rifle, to which was attached a telescopic sight, two boxes of .22 caliber long ammunition, a single-barrel shotgun and a box of ammunition which was hid

under the couch. It was observed that this office was well equipped with chairs, typewriters, photo-copiers, Mimeograph machines, a television, radio, desk and file cabinet. At least one of the Invaders, identity not known, had a pistol on him and they had two or three machetes.

Some of the Invaders suggested that the Invaders who had arms should surround the LeMoyne campus which is quite small and if the Police Department attempted to invade the campus to conduct arrests, that they should snipe or shoot the police officers.

Shortly thereafter, the group of Invaders who had the weapons went to LeMoyne and ostensibly entered the Main Administration Building, Brown Lee Hall.

Later during the evening, Ann Twiggs, Kathleen Summerall, and Laura Ingram took turns going out into the city to buy groceries and to obtain blankets and other supplies for the demonstrators who were to remain inside the building throughout the night.

Also it was learned by source five that Willie Wine as a part of psychological warfare filled several beer bottles with water but let the LeMoyne officials see these and gave them the impression that they were filled with gasoline and could be used to firebomb the building, thereby burning it down.

At approximately 5:05 p.m., November 25, 1968, a sixth source advised that it had been determined that the Brown Lee Hall had been secured and taken over by approximately twenty LeMoyne students, assisted by some of the members of the SDS and Invaders. The sixth source advised that they had tied the inside doors with ropes so that they could not be unlocked fromthe outside and had reluctantly permitted the switchboard operator and other officials who were still in the building to leave the building unmolested.

BLACK ORGANIZING PROJECT (BOP);
STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY (SDS)

[redacted]

Around 5:30 p.m., November 25, 1968, Detective Mary Sample, Intelligence Bureau, Memphis, Tennessee, Police Department, advised that things were relatively quiet on the campus and that Captain John Molnar of the Special Services Bureau, Memphis Police Department, who was on the scene, had talked to people of the administration who had originally requested that the Police Department run off the campus all nonstudents but when the official was advised that someone would have to swear out warrants charging them with trespassing the official refused to swear out the warrants.

During the next hour, source six advised that the group continued to hold the administration building.

At 6:40 p.m., Lieutenant E. H. Arkin, Intelligence Bureau, Memphis Police Department, advised that there were approximately 40 to 50 students milling around the outside of Brown Lee Hall, that the inside of the building appeared to be well secured by the students who had taken over the building, but that the students were not blocking the library, where the faculty had been meeting.

Also Detective [redacted] Intelligence Bureau, Memphis Police Department, advised that he had seen Reverend Richard M. Moon and Robert Matlock, both members of the SDS, at the corner of McDowell and Walker on the northwest corner of the college campus, and that several Invaders, including Lance Watson, Lewis Welch, Roy Turks, and John Charles Smith, were in the area and had been going in and out of the Administration Building. He stated that he had also observed Ann Twiggs and Kathleen Summerall going in and out of the building, along with Ted Carter.

BLACK ORGANIZING PROJECT (BOP);
STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY (SDS)

[redacted] advised that at approximately 6:30 p.m., the Police Department pulled their uniformed officers off the campus since the LeMoyne officials had seen fit not to have any of the demonstrators arrested.

About 7:30 p.m., Detective [redacted] advised that a [redacted] at LeMoyne College, named [redacted] had come out and stated that he had heard Watson and his associates say that they might burn Brown Lee Hall during the night. Davis estimated that there were approximately 15 SDS people in the building and approximately 10 to 15 Invaders.

At approximately 9 p.m., a seventh source advised that the faculty meeting had broken up a short while earlier and that the faculty meeting had not arrived at any definite conclusion. The seventh source advised further that the faculty had apparently been willing to give some of the concessions to the students, that the students allowed the faculty to leave unmolested, and that Dr. Hollis Price, President of LeMoyne College, had gone into the Administration Building in an effort to talk to the striking students who were holding the building.

At about 9:15 p.m., an eighth source advised that the Invaders and SDS members had taken over the building and that they were primarily staying in the halls, although they were attempting to get into some of the locked offices. He stated that there were about thirty LeMoyne students remaining in the building and that he had heard one of them saying that they will get gasoline and burn down the building. The Invaders were attempting to brainwash the students by insisting that they not relent in their demands on the administration.

Also the Invaders were overheard to urge the students to break into the offices and destroy equipment therein.

BLACK ORGANIZING PROJECT (BOP);
STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY (SDS)

It was determined also by source eight that various sympathetic students and supporters were coming in and out of the building with food, although no one else was allowed in the building, other than Dr. Hollis Price. Source eight further advised that the students and the Invaders were ganged around Dr. Price attempting to verbally intimidate him into signing an agreement which would permit them to leave, and that Dr. Price told them that he did not have the authority to sign this without the consent of the faculty committee.

Source eight stated that there were approximately ten girls in the building, about four of whom were white, and that he had heard that some of them had indicated that if they did not get what they wanted not, they might start something later on which the college would regret, but they did not elaborate.

At approximately 10 p.m., Detective Mary Sample, supra, advised that she had learned that Robert Matlock of the SDS had been allowed into the building and was inside with Dr. Price talking to some of the students and that it had been reliably reported that several of the people in the building had pistols and some had long-bladed knives.

At approximately 10:45 p.m., source three advised that there were approximately 40 students and supporters, primarily Invaders and members of the SDS, holding Brown Lee Hall in a state of seige and that they definitely had a single-barrel 12-gauge shotgun, a rifle with a telescopic sight, a bayonet, at least one Derringer, and one pistol, possibly a .32 or .38 caliber.

BLACK ORGANIZING PROJECT (BOP);
STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY (SDS)

Source Three stated that the group was not holding Dr. Price hostage but that they were attempting to break him down by verbal intimidation. Source Three stated that among those who were in the building during the evening were definitely identified as Edward M. (Ted) Carter, Jr., Laura Ingram, Kathy Summerall, and Invaders such as Lance Watson, Roy Lee Turks, Robert Lee "Cornbread" Wilson, Melvin Smith, and John Charles Smith, and Maurice Lewis, and an older male Negro, gray-headed, in his early 50's, whose name is tentatively James Pegues, who may possibly be serving as a financial adviser for the Invaders and who has been seen with them recently. This group indicated that they intend to stay in the building during the entire night of November 25 and early morning of November 26, 1968. Source Three did not feel that they would actually harm anyone, although he felt that if they drank enough and got sufficiently emotionally involved, they might damage some of the property and might even burn the property.

At about 11:00 p.m., Frank Holloman, Director of Fire and Police, Memphis Police Department, advised that he had been able to talk by telephone with Dr. Price, who stated that he was in the building and that he thought he would stay until about midnight and then return to his home.

At approximately 1:00 a.m., the first source advised that it had been reliably learned that Dr. Price had been unsuccessful in his efforts to get the students to voluntarily leave the building and that no definite agreement had been reached with them. The first source stated it was learned that Dr. Price would possibly consider around 8:30 to 9:00 a.m., November 26, 1968, whether or not to call in the Memphis Police Department to evict the students with the understanding that Price would have to swear out warrants charging them with trespass and that he did not want to be responsible for a lot of mass arrests, particularly of some of his own students.

It was learned from Source One that Lance Watson was the main spokesman for the Invaders and was encouraging the LeMoyne students, some of whom had mixed emotions, to

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stand up to Dr. Price. While Price was in the building, Source One learned that Malcom Blackburn, Pastor, Clayborn Temple, who is also Field Organizer of the American Federation of State, County, and Municipal Employees Union and who has voluntarily given space to the Invaders in the rear of his church, was permitted in the building by the Invaders, and that also while Price was in the building, SDS member Robert Matlock came in and urged the SDS people not to engage in any acts of violence lest this hurt their image in Memphis. Source One stated that he had also been reliably informed that the faculty had taken under advisement the student demands and would meet later on November 26, 1968, to further discuss them and that the two ringleaders on the part of the students were Dennis Henderson, a male student, and (First Name Unknown) Blackburn, a female student.

On the early morning of November 26, 1968, Source Two advised that approximately 35 to 40 people were still in the building early that morning, that about 15 or 20 were students, the rest being members of the Invaders or SDS. Source Two stated that they had three .22 caliber rifles, all on the second floor, on various corners thereof, and that they were all manned by Invaders who had them pointed where they could point out the windows and shoot if necessary anyone who attempted to rush the building. They also had three hand guns during the night, all of the weapons ostensibly being handled by only the Invaders and not by the students or SDS people.

People who Source Five learned had been in and out of the building during the siege and in support thereof were Morgan McCraw, male Negro, Memphis State University student, SDS member, and Black Student Association member; Melvin Smith, of the Invaders; Lance Watson, of the Invaders; Robert Lee "Cornbread" Wilson, of the Invaders; John C. Smith, of the Invaders; Maurice Lewis, of the Invaders; Kathy Summerall; Edward M. Carter, Jr.; and Ann Twiggs, of SDS; and that Dick Moon and Robert Matlock had been in the area, and that Matlock had at one time come in and attempted to keep the SDS students from engaging in any acts of violence.

BLACK ORGANIZING PROJECT (BOP);
STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY (SDS)

Moon and Matlock were primarily there to counsel the SDS people.

Later on the morning of November 26, 1968, Source Four advised that the Invaders and certain students still had control of the Administration Building and were telling students to not come to class and to boycott the school. Also on November 26, 1968, Source Three advised in more detail that the Invaders, while in the building, had hoped to have a confrontation with the police, such as the Black Panthers had done in California, in order to get publicity. Source Three advised that the Invaders and SDS people had definitely taken over the demonstration, taking it away from the students, and that they were merely "using the students," preying upon their emotions.

He indicated that at least 25 to 30 had been in the building during the night, led primarily by Lance Watson. He stated that some of Watson's key members, Maurice Lewis, Melvin Smith, Roy Lee Turks, and James Phillips (former LeMoyne student and one of the original founders of the BOP in Memphis) had also been with them. Also, James Pegues and one William Bell, possibly of either the Invaders or Southern Christian Leadership Conference, had been with them. He stated that among SDS people were Edward M. Carter, Jr., Richard Moon, Laura Ingram, Ann Twiggs, Robert Matlock, and Muriel Joy Patterson, female Negro and common-law wife of Carter. He also stated that Malcom Blackburn of the Clayborn Temple had been in and out of the building during the night. This source pointed out that as psychological warfare, Wine had put water in beer bottles and had attempted to lead people to believe that these were gasoline firebombs.

This source stated that one of the derringers which had been in the Invaders' possession had four barrels. Source also learned that Donald Stone, Field Representative of SNCC, ostensibly brought to Memphis by Coby Vernon Smith, had spoken to a small group of LeMoyne students at a meeting on the LeMoyne campus, Friday, November 22, 1968, and that Stone has not been seen in the last day or so, nor had Coby Smith made an appearance.

He stated that Melvin Smith seemed to be in charge of the security guards at the doors. He stated that the students became very bitter and very emotional, particularly the girls, and that they unleased numerous obscenities at Dr. Price.

At 9:30 a.m., November 26, 1968, Source Nine advised that allegedly the students had pulled the phone lines going into the Administration Building and had taken over the Science Building at the corner of McDowell and Walker. Dr. Price had called a faculty meeting for 10:30 a.m. and also hoped to meet with student leaders at that time, and was about prepared to meet all of their demands except their demand that tuition be lowered. It appeared at this point that all of the whites,who allegedly were with SDS, had left the campus with the exception of Edward M. (Ted) Carter, Jr. Those who remained in the buildings were yelling obscenities at those outside, and Lance Watson and his group were carrying a Black Power flag around the campus, going from building to building.

At 10:10 a.m., Source Nine advised that the Invaders, supported by a few students, had taken over the Co-op Building, giving them three buildings under their control, and that O. W. Pickett, a Negro political leader, close associate of former Mayor William B. Ingram of Memphis, Tennessee, and bitter political opponent of current Memphis Mayor Henry Loeb, had brought a supply of food to the Invaders.

At 1:20 p.m., November 26, 1968, Source Six advised that the dispute had been temporarily solved, that the students and Invaders had left the three buildings which they had been occupying approximately 1:00 to 1:15 p.m., and that apparently they had done no perceptible damage to the buildings, and that after Dr. Price had talked to the students, the students had apparently talked the Invaders into voluntarily leaving in order to give the administration time to further consider the demands. Source Six volunteered that O. W. Pickett had brought food and supplies to those who were

occupying the buildings, and was observed to give the Black Power handshake to some of the Invaders. Source Six advised the students had broken into the Registrar's Office but apparently had done no property damage.

Also on the early afternoon of November 26, 1968, Source Nine advised that the students and Invaders had left the building at approximately 1:00 p.m. and that key persons identified were John C. Smith, Coby Smith, Maurice Lewis, Melvin Smith, Frankotta Guinn (the only female Invader identified, who claimed to be a student at LeMoyne College). Source Nine pointed out that Coby Smith was first seen with the occupiers on the morning of November 26. Source Nine stated the news media was giving the incident considerable impetus and that NBC and CBS had sent television cameramen to the scene and that some of the students took delight in chasing the representatives of the news media, threatening to physically harm them. Source Nine stated that it definitely appeared that Rayford Adams of either CBS or NBC was in sympathy with the striking students. He kept chanting, "The press has got to go." Source Nine pointed out that the faculty would have committee meetings on November 27 and again on November 29 to further discuss student demands.

On November 26, 1968, Source Four advised that the students had met with the administration at approximately 10:15 a.m., that the grievances had been explained pro and con, that the students thereafter had a huddle, were extremely close-mouthed but did agree to vacate the buildings provided classes be dismissed for the remainder of the week ending November 30, 1968, with the understanding that the administration would attempt to equitably adjust the grievances and bring back a final report to the students when classes are scheduled to resume at 8:30 a.m., Monday, December 2, 1968.

This source advised that a cursory check of the buildings determined no perceptible damage.

BLACK ORGANIZING PROJECT (BOP);
STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY (SDS)

As various developments outlined hereinbefore were developed, information was furnished to Lieutenant E. H. Arkin, Intelligence Bureau, Memphis Police Department; to U. S. Secret Service, Memphis, Tennessee; and to David Pagono, 111th Military Ingelligence Group, Third Army, Memphis.

APPENDIX

BLACK ORGANIZING PROJECT (BOP),
Also known as Black Organizing Power,
Afro-American Brotherhood,
Black Student Association,
Invaders,
LeMoyne Intercollegiate Chapter of the
National Association for the Advancement
of Colored People (NAACP),
City Organizers

On April 18, 1968, a first source advised that a black power group in Memphis which has been in existence for several months has until recently been known as Black Organizing Power. It is now known as Black Organizing Project (BOP), also known as Black Organizing Power, with five cells or parts, known as (1) Afro-American Brotherhood (AAB), primarily consisting of Owen College students; (2) Black Student Association (BSA), primarily consisting of Memphis State University (MSU) Negro students; (3) LeMoyne Intercollegiate Chapter of the NAACP, consisting of LeMoyne College students; (4) the Invaders, consisting mostly of high school dropouts; and (5) the City Organizers, comprised of young adults.

AAB has about 12 members; BSA has about 20 members; the Invaders has about 15 members; the LeMoyne group has about 20 members; and the City Organizers has about 20 members.

Source one advised that the BOP attempts to create pride in black identity, attempts to teach and promote the teaching of Negro history, and to promote black culture and obtain more employment for young Negroes.

The Executive Secretary of BOP is Charles Laverne Cabbage.

On February 16, 1968, Charles Laverne Cabbage personally acknowledged being leader of BOP, claiming he is the impetus of black power in Memphis, Tennessee, and that BOP's purpose is to stimulate in the young Negroes a sense of black identity, black pride, and black consciousness. He said his group follows the teachings of Student Nonviolent

Coordinating Committee (SNCC) leaders H. Rap Brown and Stokely Carmichael but that BOP did not necessarily exist as a formal SNCC unit. CABBAGE further admitted he had made statements such as "Memphis should be burned" and "Memphis should have a good race riot," but claimed he did not mean these statements literally, merely endeavoring to shock the community into doing something to help the black race.

On February 27, 1968, a second source advised that at a public meeting on February 26, 1968, the BOP Chairman John Burrell Smith told a Negro audience, "We've got to do some fighting," and "You'd better get some guns. You're going to need them before this is over. You can't pray your way out."

On June 6,1968, the second source advised that BOP primarily consists of about 30 to 35 young college and high school students and school dropouts, unemployed and not looking for work, who continually preach hatred of the white race and capitalistic economic system and advocating and predicting violence by blacks. The over-all plan of BOP, according to source two, is to scare the Memphis community leaders, both black and white, into fearing black militancy. The BOP leaders then hope to convince the community to fund them as a form of subtle blackmail whereby BOP can prevent racial violence. Source two said that BOP is more interested in publicity and money than in direct action, but is nevertheless preaching violence in an effort to scare the community.

STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE

The Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), headquartered at 360-362 Nelson Street, S. W., Atlanta, Georgia, is a nonmembership organization, which was born out of the sit-in movement that erupted across the South beginning in 1960.

Today SNCC identifies itself as an organization in the revolutionary vanguard. It advocates that to be successful it is necessary to develop a revolutionary ideology and revolutionary program.

According to SNCC the year 1967 marked a historic milestone in the struggle for the liberation of black people in the United States and the year that revolutionaries throughout the world began to understand more fully the impact of the black movement. SNCC declared that "liberation will come only when there is final destruction of this mad octopus--the capitalistic system of the United States with all its life-sucking tentacles of exploitation and racism that choke the people of Africa, Asia, and Latin America. The realities of black life, together with the recognition instilled in SNCC workers forced its members to further popularize the legitimacy of self-defense and rebellions when oppression became too great."

From May, 1966, until May, 1967, Stokely Carmichael was National Chairman of SNCC. As of July, 1968, Carmichael resided in Washington, D. C., where he was affiliated with SNCC and active as temporary chairman of a black coalition group. In May, 1967, Carmichael was replaced by Hubert Geroid Brown, commonly known as H. Rap Brown, who served until June, 1968.

In June, 1968, at the Staff and Central Committee meeting of SNCC held in Atlanta, Georgia, it was decided to restructure the organization by equalization of responsibility by creating ten deputy or vice chairmanships. The primary purpose for this change is to take law enforcement pressure off any single individual.

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APPENDIX

STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY

The Students for a Democratic Society (SDS), as it is known today, came into being at a founding convention held at Port Huron, Michigan, in June, 1962. The SDS is an association of young people on the left and has a current program of protesting the draft, promoting a campaign for youth to develop a conscientious objector status, denouncing United States intervention in the war in Vietnam, and to "radically transform" the university community, and provide for its complete control by students. Gus Hall, General Secretary, Communist Party, USA, when interviewed by a representative of United Press International in San Francisco, California, on May 14, 1965, described the SDS as a part of the "responsible left" which the Party has "going for us." At the June, 1965, SDS National Convention, an anticommunist proviso was removed from the SDS constitution. In the October 7, 1966, issue of "New Left Notes," the official publication of SDS, an SDS spokesman stated that there are some communists in SDS and they are welcome. The national headquarters of this organization as of July 24, 1968, was located in Room 206, 1608 West Madison Street, Chicago, Illinois.

BLACK ORGANIZING PROJECT (BOP)
STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY (SDS

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FD-35 (Rev. 12-13-56)

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DATE 07-27-2012

FBI

Date: 11/27/68

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plain text or code)

Via AIRTEL _____
(Priority or Method of Mailing)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI

FROM: SAC, MEMPHIS (P)

BLACK ORGANIZING PROJECT (BOP), aka
Invaders,
Black United Front (BUF)
RM
(OO: Memphis)
(Memphis file 157-1067)
(Bufile 157-8460)

STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY (SDS)
IS - SDS
(OO: Chicago)
(Memphis file 100-4000)
(Bufile 100-439048)
(Chicago file 100-40903)

Re: 11/25-26/68 Disruption, LeMoyne-Owen College, Memphis, Tennessee

Re Memphis teletypes 11/25 and 11/26/68.

Enclosed herewith for the Bureau are 11 copies of a letterhead memorandum dated and captioned as above.

Copies are being disseminated to U. S. Attorney, Memphis; U. S. Secret Service, Memphis; and to Regional Offices of Military Intelligence. Two copies are being furnished Chicago as that office is OO in the SDS case.

3 - Bureau (Encs. 11)(RM)
2 - Chicago (100-40903)(Encs. 2)(RM)
49 - Memphis
(1 - 157-1067)(BOP)
(1 - 100-4000, SDS)
(ADDITIONAL MEMPHIS COPIES, PAGE 2)
WHL:gmh
(54)

SEARCHED _____
SERIALIZED 1511
INDEXED _____
FILED 1511

1 - 170-70 Sub 170-70 - Sub.

Approved: R Lefenser
Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____ M Per _____

FBI-Withers-1163

ME 157-1067
ME 100-4000

MEMPHIS COPIES (continued):

1 - 157-556 (Possible Racial Violence, Major Urban Areas)
1 - 157-1423 (BUF)
1 - 170-45 [redacted]
1 - 170-70 Sub (ME338-R)
1 - 170-114 [redacted]
1 - 100-4394 [redacted]
1 - 157-109 (SNCC)
1 - 157-1019
2 - 157-NEW
2 - 157-NEW
1 - 157-1258
1 - 157-1000
1 - 157-
1 - 157-1230
1 - 157-
2 - 157-NEW
1 - 157-1564
1 - 157-1553
1 - 157-1351
1 - 100-4593
1 - 100-4749
1 - 100-4652
1 - 100-4847
1 - 100-4823
1 - 157-1234
1 - 140-918
1 - 157-1583
1 - 100-4481
1 - 100-4820
1 - 157-
1 - 100-4711
1 - 100-4860
2 - 157-
1 - 100-4842
1 - 157-DEAD
1 - 157-1074
1 - 157-1503
1 - 157-1111
1 - 100-
1 - 100-4824
1 - 157-1071
1 - 100-4846
1 - 66-1687 Sub A (Dissemination File)

FBI-Withers-1164

ME 157-1067
ME 100-4000

INFORMANTS:

Source one [redacted]

Memphis file 170-45

Source two [redacted]

Source three ME 338-R

Source four [redacted]

Source five

Source six

Source seven

Source eight

Source nine

Source ten [redacted] file 100-4394-44

LEADS:

MEMPHIS DIVISION

AT MEMPHIS, TENN.

Will continue to closely follow this matter including activities of BOP and SDS.

FBI-Withers-1165

ME 157-1067
ME 100-4000

ADMINISTRATIVE:

The enclosed LHM is being classified CONFIDENTIAL in order to protect confidential informants and sources of information of continuing value to this office.

FBI-Withers-1166

FBI AUTOMATIC DECLASSIFICATION GUIDE
DATE 02-27-2012

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

Memphis, Tennessee
December 4, 1968

BLACK ORGANIZING PROJECT (BOP);
RACIAL MATTERS;
STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY (SDS);
INTERNAL SECURITY - SDS

Re: November 25 and 26, 1968, Disruption,
LeMoyne-Owen College, Memphis, Tennessee

Attention is directed to a communication made at Memphis, Tennessee, dated November 27, 1968, setting forth the fact that a Black Organizing Project (BOP), also known as Invaders, and Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) coalition combined with a select small number of LeMoyne-Owen College students took over the administration building of this college on the night of November 25, 1968, and on the morning of November 26, 1968, took over two additional buildings finally dispersing around 1 p.m., November 26, 1968, agreeing to give the school administration a few days in which to further study and attempt to equitably settle a list of student demands for improvement on the campus and for more student participation in campus activities.

Set forth hereinafter are subsequent developments.

(A characterization of BOP and a characterization of SDS are set forth in the Appendix Section.)

On November 29, 1968, Lieutenant [redacted] Intelligence Bureau, Memphis, Tennessee, Police Department, advised that at approximately 3:25 p.m., November 26, 1968, after the students, BOP members, and SDS people had left the buildings at LeMoyne-Owen College, Squad Car 51 was called to answer a shooting call at Trigg and Mississippi Boulevard where it was determined through witnesses that workmen located just south of LeMoyne-Owen College had heard what sounded like several shots. They looked up and saw three unidentified male

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
GROUP 1
Excluded from automatic downgrading and declassification

SERIALIZED
INDEXED
FILED

170-70-Sub [redacted]

FBI-Withers-1536

BLACK ORGANIZING PROJECT (BOP);
STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY (SDS)

Negroes running south from the vicinity of the school. The workmen saw other male Negroes running behind the three and these Negroes in turn were carrying shotguns and rifles. Some of the Negroes involved were observed to get into a two-tone blue Buick, license AZ-2800, Tennessee, subsequently determined to be registered to one J. W. Wadlington of 1541 Guasco, for a 1958 Rambler, and not a Buick. Davis pointed out that frequently licenses are transferred from one car to another without them being so registered with the Automobile Registration Bureau. [redacted] stated that later about 5:30 p.m., while checking the area, Officers J. C. Kellum and R. E. Bedford of the Memphis Police Department observed the above-described Rambler parked on LeMoyne Drive across from the college gymnasium. It was unoccupied at the time. They thereafter observed in the car a pamphlet listing student grievances and talked to two individuals who came up and identified themselves as the normal occupants of the car, namely, Gerald Robinson, male Negro, age 20, of 1541 Guasco, who stated he was the driver and owner of the car, and his companion, Jessie Chatman, male Negro, age 19, of 1561 Humbert. Both stated they were students at LeMoyne-Owen College. Both were reluctant at first to discuss what had happened early in the afternoon but finally did admit being involved in a shooting incident earlier that afternoon. They related to the interviewing officers that several of the Invaders had been roaming the LeMoyne-Owen College armed with shotguns and rifles with scopes affixed thereto; that the Invaders had become angry with them because they had told the Invaders they did not belong on the campus; and that the students at LeMoyne could handle the situation with regard to their grievances without the help of the Invaders. Several angry words were exchanged and at this time the Invaders chased the two students, along with another male Negro, name unknown, from the campus firing shots into the air, while doing so.

Both Chatman and Robinson stated they did not know the Invaders by name but felt they could possibly identify them were they to see them again.

BLACK ORGANIZING PROJECT (BOP);
STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY (SDS)

Detective [redacted] stated that since these individuals did not wish to file any formal complaints with the Police Department that for the present no further investigation to his knowledge was being conducted by the Memphis Police Department relative to this incident.

Also on December 2, 1968, it was ascertained from source one that following the November 26, 1968, incident at LeMoyne College when the Invaders headed by Lance "Sweet Willie Wine" Watson left the campus, Watson was overheard to state "We couldn't let them run us off. It would cost us some support." Watson, along with Lewis Welch of the Invaders, had also told of an alleged "shoot-out" at LeMoyne College earlier that day stating that three LeMoyne students came on the campus and attacked them with blazing guns in an effort to run them, the Invaders, off the campus. They stated that they, the Invaders, returned the fire and ran the students off the campus. Watson and Welch indicated that John Charles Smith, an Invader and who is currently on parole from the State of California where he was charged in Los Angeles in 1966 with assault with a deadly weapon and who is currently residing with his mother and step-father, Mr. and Mrs. John Borden, at 2430 Vollentine, had done most of the shooting at these students with a .22 caliber automatic rifle. They stated that another Invader, Robert Lee Wilson, also known as "Cornbread," residing 139 West Fields had shot at the students with a pistol.

Source one added that Watson was pleased that the newspapers in Memphis had given so much coverage to the takeover of the campus and the part played in it by him and he particularly was pleased that they had talked about the "liberated areas," the buildings which had been taken over by the Invaders and their associates. Watson was also particularly pleased about the publicity showing the Invaders having a black power flag prominently displayed on the LeMoyne-Owen campus.

BLACK ORGANIZING PROJECT (BOP);
STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY (SDS)

Source one added that it has been reliably ascertained that within the past week Invaders Roy Lee Turks, John Charles Smith, Horace Hall, Maurice Lewis, and one James E. Griffin have been engaging in target practice with a .22 caliber automatic rifle.

On December 3, 1968, Detective [redacted] advised that the Homicide Bureau of the Memphis, Tennessee, Police Department is now further investigating the purported shooting in the vicinity of the LeMoyne campus on the afternoon of November 26, 1968.

On the evening of December 2, 1968, a second source advised that on the morning of December 2, 1968, the administrative staff and faculty committee of LeMoyne-Owen College had met with the Student Council and had gone over the demands made by the students. The source advised that generally the Student Council and the faculty and administration had worked out an equitable agreement whereby most of the demands of the students were being met. This source stated that the administration definitely had to refuse two of the demands, namely, that tuition be lowered and that public dances be permitted to be held on campus. The source pointed out that some of the issues will still remain in a discussion stage adding for example that an unlimited use of the school swimming pool cannot be permitted at this time due to safety measures and the lack of adequate lifeguards. Required assemblies will be abolished. The gymnasium will be open for students except when used by classes or organized teams. There will be more black curriculum offered including student participation in the upcoming Conference on African and Africa-American Studies at Atlanta University and the development for additional courses to provide for an inter-disciplinary minor in African Studies. The school will also attempt if possible to establish a campus health services. Prices in the cafeteria cannot be lowered at this time but efforts will be made to improve the cafeteria food and price structure.

BLACK ORGANIZING PROJECT (BOP);
STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY (SDS)

Source two stated that some of the students will still in all probability boycott the cafeteria.

Also on December 3, 1968, Detective [redacted] advised that he had determined through the Homicide Bureau, Memphis Police Department, that several of the Invaders had been arrested on November 30, 1968, in Memphis by the Memphis Police Department. Among these was James Edward Griffin, alias James Cordosya, listing his residence as 1057 Walker, a male Negro, age 19, born October 16, 1949, who was arrested on request of the Document Squad, being arrested around 3:40 p.m., when Officers W. H. White and A. Hall were cruising south on Hernando north of Linden Avenue about 3:40 p.m. and observed Griffin along with another male Negro walking south on Hernando. Griffin appeared to have a knife stapped on his right leg. Officers stopped Griffin to check to see what he possessed, at which time he started to pull the knife out and he was placed under arrest and transported to headquarters. The knife which he possessed was a machete with a 14-inch blade. Also found on his possession were a colored sheath, two rounds of .22 caliber short ammunition and 59 rounds of .22 caliber long rifle shells. Griffin told the arresting officers that he had been wearing this knife "up town all day" and that some of Lance "Sweet Willie Wine" Watson's associates had told him it was all right and that the police had not bothered him prior to this time.

He was charged with carrying a dangerous weapon.

Detective [redacted] advised that on October 11, 1968, Officers S. W. Latham and J. N. Shelton observed a blue Cadillac with a light green fender at Linden and Hernando bearing 1969 California license BKR374, on which a police broadcast was outstanding to be checked on in connection with two robberies which had occurred November 29, 1968. They also observed approximately ten to fifteen Negroes

armed with sticks going north on Hernando and later observed them at Linden and Hernando and on close observation noted that three of these male Negroes were armed with shotguns. They began waving their sticks and looking in the direction of the squad car driven by the above officers and one male Negro approached the car, claimed he was a member of the Invaders, and inquired about an arrest which had been made just prior to this incident on Hernando north of Linden by Squad Car 212. This involved the arrest of Griffin outlined above.

At this point, Officer Shelton ordered the male Negroes to drop the shotguns and some unidentified member of the Invaders asked Officer Shelton if the officers were looking for a confrontation, whereupon one of the male Negroes told the officers that he would have "to make" him put the shotgun down. Later this male Negro was identified as Horace Hall. The other two Negroes with shotguns were dressed in blue-jean pants and blue-jean type jackets, and they ran south on Hernando from Linden Avenue. Officers called for help, went around the corner and found four male Negroes including one Robert Webster armed with a shotgun, and on searching him found that he possessed eight 20-gauge shotgun shells and one straight razor. The officers found Horace Hall to be armed with a breech-loaded shotgun and refused to drop the shotgun after being ordered to do so by Patrolman Shelton.

Upon searching Horace Hall, one 12-gauge shotgun shell was found in his possession. The male Negroes were placed under arrest and the other two in addition to Webster and Hall could not positively be identified and were released from this location. Hall and Webster were placed under arrest on charge of investigation - robbery and also charged with carrying a dangerous weapon.

BLACK ORGANIZING PROJECT (BOP);
STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY (SDS)

At this point when the arrestees were being placed in the squad car, an unidentified alleged member of the Invaders walked over to the squad car, at which time Robert Webster was heard by the arresting officers to tell this unidentified Negro to call "Sweet Willie Wine."

Detective [redacted] advised that information obtained during the arrest reflected that Horace Hall has no middle name, was born July 11, 1949, and resides at 1423 Goodloe in the rear.

Detective [redacted] advised that the arrest report for Robert Webster reflects no middle name and reflects that he is a male Negro, date of birth March 25, 1949, showing his residence 1585 East McLemore.

Detective [redacted] added that on the evening of November 30, 1968, at about 8:45 p.m., Officers E. P. Gilless and A. T. Schmidt assigned to Squad Car 6 observed a 1960 white Thunderbird bearing Tennessee License KR-3418 going east on Crump Boulevard at Camilla. A broadcast had previously been put out by the Police Dispatcher to check on a 1960 Thunderbird occupied by three male Negroes and upon stopping the car, the driver who identified himself as Louis Welch, also known as Lewis Welch, presented his drivers license and was asked to open the trunk and then hesitated saying he did not have his trunk key as he had left it at home. The officers asked him for his keys. They tried the trunk with one of the keys, the trunk opened, and on checking same they found a sawed-off .22 rifle with a 13-inch barrel, it being a Winchester bolt-action, .22 caliber Model No. 67. The rifle was loaded and Welch further had in his possession 23 long rifle and 10 short rifle, .22 caliber bullets, along with two .32 caliber bullets. Welch stated that the rifle did not belong to him but was unable to describe the party to whom it allegedly belonged.

BLACK ORGANIZING PROJECT (BOP);
STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY (SDS)

The other occupants of the car identified themselves as Shirley Young, Negro female, address 1311 McMillan, and Rufus Henderson of 1765 Preston, Telephone No. 947-3993. They claimed that they had only been with the defendant approximately one hour and they had met him at the Riviera Club at Mississippi and Richmond.

Welch answered the description of a male Negro involved in an Armed Person Robbery call which Car 416 had previously handled at Linden and Hernando about 4:30 p.m., in which the subject got away. Welch was arrested on suspected robbery. Young and Henderson were released.

Detective [redacted] advised that on October 2, 1968, Robert Webster was released and apparently no formal charges will be placed against him in the absence of additional information. Detective [redacted] advised that James Griffin and Lewis Welch both appeared in Memphis City Court, December 2, 1968; were both held to the State of Tennessee (Shelby County Grand Jury) on $250 bond each on charges of "Carrying a Dangerous Weapon"; and that on December 3, 1968, Horace Hall appeared in Memphis City Court, and was held to the State of Tennessee under $10,000 bond on charges of "Assault to Murder, Common Assault, and Carrying a Dangerous Weapon."

Also on December 3, 1968, source one advised that Lance "Sweet Willie Wine" Watson was most angered when he learned that some of his lieutenants, namely, Webster, Griffin, Hall and Welch, had been arrested and made the statement that they had no business messing with their firearms out in the open and that "Our Minister of Defense has got to control these guns or I am going to take his position," it being noted by source one that Robert Taylor is the alleged Minister of Defense. Watson stated "We made a showing at LeMoyne and that was enough. You don't have to walk the streets with weapons and let everyone know you have them."

BLACK ORGANIZING PROJECT (BOP);
STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY (SDS)

On December 3, 1968, sources one, two and three advised that it is not anticipated at this time that either the SDS or the Invaders will have any effective influence over the LeMoyne College students and they feel that the LeMoyne situation will be worked out internally between the students and faculty.

On December 2, 1968, information concerning the settlement of the LeMoyne dispute was furnished to Mr. David Pagano of the 111th Military Intelligence Corps, Third Army, Memphis, Tennessee, and to Lieutenant E. H. Arkin, Intelligence Bureau, Memphis, Tennessee, Police Department.

BLACK ORGANIZING PROJECT (BOP),
Also known as Black Organizing Power,
Afro-American Brotherhood,
Black Student Association,
Invaders,
LeMoyne Intercollegiate Chapter of the
National Association for the Advancement
of Colored People (NAACP),
City Organizers

On April 18, 1968, a first source advised that a black power group in Memphis which has been in existence for several months has until recently been known as Black Organizing Power. It is now known as Black Organizing Project (BOP), also known as Black Organizing Power, with five cells or parts, known as (1) Afro-American Brotherhood (AAB), primarily consisting of Owen College students; (2) Black Student Association (BSA), primarily consisting of Memphis State University (MSU) Negro students; (3) LeMoyne Intercollegiate Chapter of the NAACP, consisting of LeMoyne College students; (4) the Invaders, consisting mostly of high school dropouts; and (5) the City Organizers, comprised of young adults.

AAB has about 12 members; BSA has about 20 members; the Invaders has about 15 members; the LeMoyne group has about 20 members; and the City Organizers has about 20 members.

Source one advised that the BOP attempts to create pride in black identity, attempts to teach and promote the teaching of Negro history, and to promote black culture and obtain more employment for young Negroes.

The Executive Secretary of BOP is Charles Laverne Cabbage.

On February 16, 1968, Charles Laverne Cabbage personally acknowledged being leader of BOP, claiming he is the impetus of black power in Memphis, Tennessee, and that BOP's purpose is to stimulate in the young Negroes a sense of black identity, black pride, and black consciousness. He said his group follows the teachings of Student Nonviolent

Coordinating Committee (SNCC) leaders H. Rap Brown and Stokely Carmichael but that BOP did not necessarily exist as a formal SNCC unit. CABBAGE further admitted he had made statements such as "Memphis should be burned" and "Memphis should have a good race riot," but claimed he did not mean these statements literally, merely endeavoring to shock the community into doing something to help the black race.

On February 27, 1968, a second source advised that at a public meeting on February 26, 1968, the BOP Chairman John Burrell Smith told a Negro audience, "We've got to do some fighting," and "You'd better get some guns. You're going to need them before this is over. You can't pray your way out."

On June 6, 1968, the second source advised that BOP primarily consists of about 30 to 35 young college and high school students and school dropouts, unemployed and not looking for work, who continually preach hatred of the white race and capitalistic economic system and advocating and predicting violence by blacks. The over-all plan of BOP, according to source two, is to scare the Memphis community leaders, both black and white, into fearing black militancy. The BOP leaders then hope to convince the community to fund them as a form of subtle blackmail whereby BOP can prevent racial violence. Source two said that BOP is more interested in publicity and money than in direct action, but is nevertheless preaching violence in an effort to scare the community.

STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY

The Students for a Democratic Society (SDS), as it is known today, came into being at a founding convention held at Port Huron, Michigan, in June, 1962. The SDS is an association of young people on the left and has a current program of protesting the draft, promoting a campaign for youth to develop a conscientious objector status, denouncing United States intervention in the war in Vietnam, and to "radically transform" the university community, and provide for its complete control by students. Gus Hall, General Secretary, Communist Party, USA, when interviewed by a representative of United Press International in San Francisco, California, on May 14, 1965, described the SDS as a part of the "responsible left" which the Party has "going for us." At the June, 1965, SDS National Convention, an anticommunist proviso was removed from the SDS constitution. In the October 7, 1966, issue of "New Left Notes," the official publication of SDS, an SDS spokesman stated that there are some communists in SDS and they are welcome. The national headquarters of this organization as of July 24, 1968, was located in Room 206, 1608 West Madison Street, Chicago, Illinois.

FBI Withers 1547

FD-79 (Rev. 12-13-56)

DECLASSIFIED BY SPAWG/P/CATALOG WITHERS SERIALS FILE:
FBI AUTOMATIC DECLASSIFICATION GUIDE
DATE 02 27 2012

FBI

Date: 12/4/68

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plain text or code)

Via AIRTEL _____
(Priority or Method of Mailing)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI

FROM: SAC, MEMPHIS (P)

BLACK ORGANIZING PROJECT (BOP), aka
Invaders,
Black United Front (BUF)
RM
(Memphis file 157-1067)
(Bufile 157-8460)
(OO: Memphis)

STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY (SDS)
IS - SDS
(Memphis file 100-4000)
(Bufile 100-439048)
(Chicago file 100-40903)
(OO: Chicago)

Re: 11/25-26/68 Disruption, LeMoyne-Owen College
Memphis, Tennessee

STAG

Re Memphis airtel and LHM dated 11/27/68.

3 - Bureau (Encs.11) (RM)
1 - Chicago (100-40903)(Enc.1)(RM)
16 - Memphis
(1 - 157-1067, BOP)
(1 - 157-4000, SDS)
(1 - 157-1423, BUF)
(1 - 157-1258, [redacted]
(1 - 157- , Stockpiling of Arms and Ammunition)
(1 - 157-556, Possible Racial Violence, Major Urban Areas)
(1 - 170-45, [redacted]
(1 - 170-70 Sub, MR 338-R)
(1 - 157-1626, [redacted]
(1 - 157-1503,
(1 - 157- ,
(MEMPHIS COPIES CONTINUED PAGE 2)

SEARCHED _____
SERIALIZED 154
INDEXED _____
FILED _____

WHL:gmb
(20)

FBI-Withers-1548

170-70- Sub [redacted]

Approved: _____ Sent _____ M Per _____
Special Agent in Charge

ME 157-1067
ME 100-4000

(Memphis copies continued from page 1)
(1 - 157- [redacted]
(1 - 157- [redacted]
(1 - 157-1583, [redacted]
(1 - 157-1564, [redacted]
(1 - 66-1687 Sub A, Dissemination File)

Enclosed herewith for the Bureau are 11 copies of a letterhead memorandum dated and captioned as above.

Copies are being disseminated to the U. S. Attorney and U. S. Secret Service, Memphis, and to Regional Offices of Military Intelligence.

A copy of the airtel and LHM are being furnished to Chicago, which is OO in SDS case.

Source one is [redacted]

Source two is [redacted]

Source three is [redacted]

Enclosed LHM is classified ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ in order to protect sources of continuing value to the Bureau.

LEADS:

MEMPHIS DIVISION

AT MEMPHIS, TENN.

Will continue to follow and report pertinent information re SDS and BOP.

FBI-Withers-1549

DECLASSIFICATION AUTHORITY DERIVED FROM:
FBI AUTOMATIC DECLASSIFICATION GUIDE
DATE 03-09-2012

SAC (157-1067) 12/17/68

SA WILLIAM H. LAWRENCE

BOP, aka Invaders
RM

(Re Student Unrest - LeMoyne-Owen College)

On 11/22/68 [redacted] advised that the students at LeMoyne-Owen College are still threatening to strike by 11/25/68 if certain student demands are not met. The Invaders are actively injecting themselves into this problem. One Invader, JOHN CHARLES SMITH, 6'1" tall, 180 lbs., long mustache that curls down at lip corners, is vicious in his utterances. He brags that he recently lived in California where he was connected with the militant Black Nationalist Movement in the U. S. headed by RON KARENGA. SMITH may be merely boasting.

[redacted] has learned that one of the student leaders of the LeMoyne protest is CHARLES DIGGS, President of the senior class. He is the younger brother of RODERICK DIGGS, former LeMoyne student leader.

[redacted] also reliably heard it was ROBERT "CORN BREAD" WILSON, Invader who recently threatened to shoot one of the LeMoyne students who refused to go to a rally of students called by Invader leader LANCE "WILLIE WINE" WATSON.

1 - 157-1067 (BOP)
1 - 170-70-Sub (ME 338-R)
1 - 157- [redacted]
1 - 157-1583
WHL:mr
(4)

170-70-Sub [redacted]
DEC 17

DECLASSIFICATION AUTHORITY DERIVED FROM:
FBI AUTOMATIC DECLASSIFICATION GUIDE

Optional Form No. 10
May 1962 Edition
GSA Gen. Reg. No. 27
5010-104

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : SAC (157-1067) DATE: 12/17/68

FROM : SA WILLIAM H. LAWRENCE

SUBJECT: BLACK ORGANIZING PROJECT (BOP)
RM

b7D -4

On 10/31/68 [redacted] advised that VERNELL JONES SHADAD, alleged wife of ANTRAIBN SHADAD, whose real name is ANTHONY WAYNE BAILEY, currently in jail on a charge of possessing marijuana and who has been a member of the Black Knights and consort of the Invaders, is claiming that the Police Department framed him. She claimed that she is married to him and that he had been an interpreter in New York City and Washington, D. C., for Nigerian Embassy. It is apparent to the informant that SHADAD has been conning JONES and her parents who are raising money for a defense attorney for SHADAD.

1 - 157-1067
1 - 170-70 Sub (MS 338-R)
1 - 157-1399
1 - 100-4528
1 - 25-14636
1 - 157-1116
1 - 170-1024
1 - 157-1019
1 - 100-4575
1 - 157-1173
1 - 157-1277
1 - 157-1000
1 - 157-957 (
1 - 157-1125
1 - 157-166 (SCLC)

[redacted]

b6 -2, -3
b7C -2, -1
b7D -1, -4

WHL:gmh
(15)

170-70-

SEARCHED ..... INDEXED .....
SERIALIZED ..... FILED .....
DEC 18 1968
FBI — MEMPHIS

Lawrence

Informant advised that CHARLES LAVERNE CABBAGE, original founder of the BOP in Memphis, is back in town and that he is a Beale Street character, loafing with pushers of marijuana and Beale Street hustlers. He is staying in the background. On 10/29/68 his mother was calling all over Beale Street attempting to locate CABBAGE for an unknown reason.

VERDELL BROOKS, another of the recent active Invaders, has been quiet of late, as have CHARLES BALLARD and CHARLES HARRINGTON. They come around Beale Street nearly every evening. BALLARD is spending a lot of time with "GIGGS" or "JIGGS" who is a notorious marijuana pusher and dope pusher on Beale Street.

VERDELL BROOKS' father works at the Veterans Administration Hospital and his mother teaches school.

CLIFFORD LOUIS TAYLOR of the BOP has purportedly become a criminal and is hanging around the Beale Street area as is JAMES ELMORE PHILLIPS, a LeMoyne College dropout.

Informant saw OREE MC KENZIE, an Invader, at the Meatpackers Dance at the Payton Place on the previous Saturday.

EMMETT HOUSE, one of the December, 1968, Invaders, said the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees Union is supposed to get money to give to the Invaders to help out in the hospital strike but has not given any money as yet.

HOUSE keeps saying that JOHN BURRELL SMITH's mother may be able to make his peace bond and get him out of jail.

Informant advised that WILLIAM THOMAS EDMONDS, a male Negro, former Memphis Police officer, recently working for the War on Poverty Committee, is interested in giving a story to "Ebony" or "Jet" concerning "how low down the Police Department in Memphis is." CHESTER HIGGINS, Business Manager of "Jet," wanted EDMONDS interviewed and informant talked to EDMONDS on 10/30/68 concerning a possible story but EDMONDS wants money in advance and insists that the story go in "Ebony" instead of "Jet," although both publications are owned by the Johnson Publishing Company.

FBI-Withers-1552

DECLASSIFICATION AUTHORITY DERIVED FROM:
FBI AUTOMATIC DECLASSIFICATION GUIDE
DATE 02-27-2012

GPO OPNL FORM NO. 10
MAY 1962 EDITION
GSA GEN. REG. NO. 27
5010-106

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : SAC (157-1067) DATE: 1/2/69

FROM : SA WILLIAM H. LAWRENCE

SUBJECT: BLACK ORGANIZING PROJECT (BOP), aka
RM

On 10/23/68 [redacted] advised that CEDRIC NELSON, the Negro from Lane College, who is rather militant, is hanging in with the Black Knights and ANITA CUSTER or CUSTARD, the enigmatic white female with short hair who allegedly is from up east and working with the SCLC Freedom Singers, is very militant. He pointed out that C. B. SMITH, Negro male, is organizing for the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees and is one of the contact men of the union wiht the Invaders and LANCE "SWEET WILLIE WINE" WATSON, along with MALCOM D. BLACKBURN, now with the union, who is also pastpr of Clayborn Temple AME Church.

Another fight is developing in that GILBERT PATTERSON, pastor of the Church of God in Christ and nephew of Bishop J. O. PATTERSON, who is father of J. O. PATTERSON JR., Memphis City Councilman, state legislator and prominent young Negro Memphis attorney, is fighting BERT FERGUSON, white general manager of Radio Station WDIA. GILBERT PATTERSON's church is the Holy Temple Church of God in Christ, Wilson at Orgill, and has been the radio voice of the church for some time. He previously had two Sunday broadcasts, and WDIA claims he gave them a bad check and therefore took him off the air. GILBERT PATTERSON is now on Radio Station WLOK and is blasting WDIA and threatening to boycott the station.

1 - 157-1067
1 - 157-1423, BUF
1 - 170-70-Sub, ME 338-R
1 - 157-1587, [redacted]
1 - 100-4528,
1 - 157-1258,
1 - 157-1277,
1 - 100-4575,
1 - 157-1230,
1 - 157-1111,
WHL:LF
(10)

170-70-Sub [redacted]

JAN 2 1969
FBI — MEMPHIS

OPTIONAL FORM NO. 10
MAY 1962 EDITION
GSA GEN. REG. NO. 27
5010-108

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

DECLASSIFICATION AUTHORITY DERIVED FROM:
FBI AUTOMATIC DECLASSIFICATION GUIDE
DATE 10-17-2007

TO : SAC (157-1067) DATE: 1/2/69

FROM : SA WILLIAM H. LAWRENCE

SUBJECT: BLACK ORGANIZING PROJECT (BOP),
aka
RM

On 11/7/68 [redacted] advised as follows:

A rally was held 11/4/68 at Club Paradise for the hospital workers, and LANCE "SWEET WILLIE WINE" WATSON and various Invaders came. They cat called A. W. WILLIS and FANNY LOU HAMER of the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party, a well-known Negro public figure who made her reputation in connection with the civil rights movement near Belzoni, Miss., several years ago. Ironically, MALCOLM D. BLACKBURN, white pastor of the AME Clayborn Temple, egged them on in this heckling.

WINE was working hard against HUBERT HUMPHREY in the political campaign. Another who egged them on was WILLIAM "BILL" PARRISH of the Unity League.

With regard to the Invaders, informant stated it appears there is an entirely new group of Invaders, headed by WATSON, versus the old group, formerly headed by CHARLES CABBAGE, JOHN HENRY FERGUSON, JOHN BURRELL SMITH, CHARLES BALLARD, CHARLES HARRINGTON VERDELL BROOKS and OREE MC KENZIE. It appears that WINE has taken over and CABBAGE has slowed down.

1 - 157-1067
1 - 170-70-Sub, ME 338-R
1 - 157-1258, [redacted]
1 - 157-1111,
157-556, POSSIBLE RACIAL VIOLENCE, MAJOR URBAN AREAS
1 - 157-1553, [redacted]
1 - 157-1230,
1 - 157-1548,
1 - 157-1070,
1 - 100-4593,
1 - 157-1516, AFSCME
1 - 157-1435, "THE LIBERATOR"
WHL:LF
(12)

170-70-Sub [redacted]
SEARCHED ..... INDEXED .....
SERIALIZED ..... FILED .....
JAN 2 1969
FBI — NEW YORK

All of this has happened since the Memphis PD took over 1310 Florida St., Memphis, the former Invader headquarters, financed by the Memphis War on Poverty Committee, and converted it into a community relations office. The real leaders, JOHN B. SMITH and JOHN HENRY FERGUSON, who really get out and work for the Invaders, are currently in jail.

One of "WINE's" main lieutenants is ROY LEE TURKS, and another is MELVIN SMITH. Actually, SMITH is the most articulate. FRANK MITCHELL, one of the Invaders' followers, is articulate but a real agitator and very hot headed and is difficult to get along with, according to some of the other Invaders.

With regard to information that EDWINA HARRELL is going with a boy named BENNETT who had a tailor shop on Mississippi Boulevard, informant stated there is only one tailor shop on Mississippi Boulevard, which is owned by Mrs. BENNETT who has two sons of college age. Informant does not know their names.

Informant stated that WATSON is putting out a lot of literature on behalf of the Invaders, and the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees is supporting them through MALCOLM D. BLACKBURN, who is now working for the union.

With regard to the previously-reported information that WILLIAM THOMAS EDMONDS, Negro male, former employee of the Memphis PD who is now embittered at the Memphis PD, was planning to write a story exposing the Memphis PD for Ebony Magazine, informant said that CHESTER HIGGINS of Ebony and Jet has called off the story and is no longer interested in having any story from EDMONDS. Informant pointed out that EDMONDS has recently been driving a red Mustang.

With regard to LAURA INGRAM, Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) leader, MSU, working for the War on Poverty Committee in its Operation Head Start program at Emanuel Episcopal Church, St. Paul, located on St. Paul St. in the vicinity of the Clayborn Homes, Memphis Housing Authority project, informant advised that the pastor is a Father ATKINS, who lives on Netherwood and who is a rather conservative individual. He stated if necessary he would not have any hesitation to talk with Father ATKINS. He stated that WENDELL ROBINSON, a lieutenant on the Memphis PD, a Negro male, belongs to that church.

DECLASSIFICATION AUTHORITY DERIVED FROM
FBI AUTOMATIC DECLASSIFICATION GUIDE
DATE 03-03-2011

SAC (157-1067) 1/10/69

SA WILLIAM H. LAWRENCE

BLACK ORGANIZING PROJECT, aka
RM

On the evening of 12/12/68 [redacted] advised SA WILLIAM H. LAWRENCE as follows:

LANCE "WILLIE WINE" WATSON IN JAIL

ROY LEE TURKS, Minister of Information, Invaders, was excited on the evening of 12/12/68, saying LANCE "WILLIE WINE" WATSON, Chairman of the Invaders, was arrested by Memphis PD for breaking into new Invader headquarters on Vance and for carrying a pistol. TURKS was trying to procure bond for WATSON.

He had procured a lawyer, JIM ESKRIDGE, phone 525-1732, a white lawyer. TURKS said ESKRIDGE claims they can "beat" the pistol charge.

CONTACT OF INVADERS WITH JOHN R. ARNOLD

Also on 12/12/68 JOHN R. ARNOLD, public relations man, head of John R. Arnold and Associates, 222 Danny Thomas Blvd., told [redacted] that two or three days before, ROY LEE TURKS had gone to City or County Jail to get one of the Invaders out on bail, had come to ARNOLD to borrow $35. ARNOLD wrote out a check for $35 and TURKS has refused to repay the loan.

1-157-1067 - BOP
1-170-70-Sub - NE 336-R
1-157-1423 - BUF
1-157-556 - Possible Racial Violence Major Urban Areas
1-157-1553 - [redacted]
1-157-1626 - [redacted]
WHL:wp
(6)

170-70-Sub [redacted]
JAN 1 1969

FBI Withers 1553

INVADERS INVOLVEMENT WITH ALLEN BLACK

ARNOLD also told [redacted] that Invaders have been spending a lot of time with ALLEN BLACK, legal aide office of NAACP, 222 Danny Thomas Blvd. He stated that BLACK has been awfully lenient with them and that BLACK has given considerable money to Invaders ROY LEE TURKS and JOHN CHARLES SMITH.

INVADERS EXTORTION TACTICS

ARNOLD also told [redacted] that Invaders have been putting economic pressure on an elderly white grocer at 4th and Vance, giving him all sorts of ultimatums and extorting money from him.

They have also put heat on Loeb's Laundry Branch at 4th and Vance and forced WILLIAM LOEB, the operator, to close it.

INVADERS MAY BE ROBBING

On the night of 12/11/68 about 10:00 p.m., [redacted] saw two unidentified Invaders coming out of the southeast back entrance of Clayborn Temple, wearing black choir robes, giving them a "Zoro" appearance. This would give them a perfect disguise to commit burglaries or strong armed robberies.

FBI-Withers-1554

DECLASSIFICATION AUTHORITY DERIVED FROM:
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DATE: 03-08-2012

OPTIONAL FORM NO. 10
MAY 1962 EDITION
GSA GEN. REG. NO. 27
5010-108

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : SAC (157-1067) DATE: 2/5/69

FROM : SA WILLIAM H. LAWRENCE

SUBJECT: INVADERS
RM

Re: 1/28/69 Killing of ANTHONY "RED" WARREN by ALBERT FRISON, CHARLES HARRINGTON, CHARLES S. BALLARD, and Shooting by CLIFFORD LOUIS TAYLOR of LOMIS PAYNE.

On 1/30/69 Lt. E. H. ARKIN, Intelligence Bureau, Memphis Police Department, and Captain BOB WILLIAMS, Homicide Bureau, Memphis Police Department, advised SA WILLIAM H. LAWRENCE that on Tuesday, 1/28/69, CLIFFORD LOUIS TAYLOR, now living 880 Crockett, Apt. 10, with his wife, ELEANOR POTTER TAYLOR (sister of THOMAS POTTER, Black Student Association (BSA) leader at Memphis State University), had suspicioned that his wife was running around with one LOMIS PAYNE, male Negro. TAYLOR inveigled PAYNE to TAYLOR's apartment on 1/28/69, pulled a pistol, and tried to force ELEANOR to shoot PAYNE. She refused. Then he gave ELEANOR a table lamp ordering her to hit PAYNE over the head. She swung and missed. All the while, CLIFFORD had PAYNE kneeling with a pistol pointed at his head. CLIFFORD then

1 - 157-1067 (BOP)
1 - 157-556 (Possible Racial Violence, Major Urban Areas)
1 - 157-1423 (BUF)
1 - 157-1508 ([redacted]
1 - 157-1019 ([redacted]
1 - 157-NEW ([redacted]
1 - 170-1022 ([redacted]
1 - 170-70 Sub ([redacted]
1 - 100-4575 ([redacted]
1 - 170-1027 ([redacted]
1 - 157-1142 ([redacted]
1 - 66-1687 Sub A (Dissemination)

WHL:gmh
(12)

170-70-Sub [redacted]
FEB 13 1969
FBI — MEMPHIS

FBI Withers 1555

took a shotgun, shot PAYNE in the foot and told him that if he did not quit running around with his wife that he would shoot his other foot off.

Around this time, CHARLES S. BALLARD, CHARLES "IZZY" HARRINGTON, both Invaders, and one AL FRIERSON, who possibly lives in Southwest Memphis around First Avenue, came in with the late "RED" LAWRENCE's boy, RANDY WARREN, male Negro (who according to [redacted] was arrested with CLIFFORD TAYLOR in Nashville 11/7/68 charged with Auto Theft, Possession of Burglary Tools, and Carrying a Pistol). Also PATRICIA JAYCOCK GREEN, sister of PAUL JAYCOCK, former Invader, was in and out of the apartment.

GREEN called for one of the JAYCOCKs to come after her. In the meantime, FRIERSON (phonetic), HARRINGTON, BALLARD, and ANTHONY "RED" WARREN left in an old Oldsmobile two-tone, ostensibly to do a "job" (burglary or hold-up) about 9 p.m.

CLIFFORD took his wife, ELEANOR, the baby and the wounded LOMIS PAYNE in CLIFFORD's car. He dropped PAYNE off at John Gaston Hospital, drove the wife and baby to Arkansas and threatened to shoot his wife and baby. He relented and made them get out of the car and then threw the shotgun into a field. He came back to the apartment. When PAUL JAYCOCK in a pink Camaro (a small Chevrolet auto) came to get his sister, CHARLES HARRINGTON was with JAYCOCK and commented that there was going to be "Hell to pay" because "AL just shot RED."

The body of ANTHONY "RED" WARREN was found early 1/29/69 on Weaver Road, 120 feet off Nonconnah, just outside of the City Limits in Shelby County. There was no blood at the scene which would indicate the body was dropped off there.

The question of jurisdiction arises since it is not known if WARREN was killed in the city or county.

FBI-Withers-1556

CLIFFORD TAYLOR is in Police Department custody and is talking. His wife says that while he is a criminal he has become a religious fanatic, and the religious motivation is causing him to talk. The Police Department picked up PAUL JAYCOCK who denies HARRINGTON, in his presence, told CLIFFORD that "AL shot RED." The Police Department is holding up further arrests until AL definitely is identified.

The writer called [redacted] who said AL FRIERSON is probably ALBERT FRISON, son of a Rev. FRISON, 179 First Avenue, and who has the First Avenue Baptist Church, 172 First Avenue. He said he knows LOMIS PAYNE as one of two brothers; that he comes from a good Negro family; [redacted] and that he originally came from the Benjestown area. He said both brothers are nice-looking, clean-cut Negroes, probably in their early 20's. Their mother is a school traffic woman at Riverside and Burdock or Essex. She was a HORTON prior to marriage.

LOMIS PAYNE has not been known to be an Invader and is not believed to have been engaged in any criminal activities.

[redacted] ascertained that LOMIS PAYNE's father is EMMETT PAYNE, residence 241 Silverage, in Southwest Memphis, near Carver High School. He has Phone No. 942-2163.

Also on 1/30/69 [redacted] was contacted. He said that AL FRIERSON is undoubtedly ALBERT FRISON, a 1966 graduate of Carver High School who was a classmate of CHARLES HARRINGTON and CHARLES BALLARD. His photograph would be in the 1966 High School yearbook. He lives at 179 First Avenue. His father is a Baptist preacher. He went to Tennessee A and I University for a while in 1967. He has been back in Memphis for some time and has been working some place in Memphis. He is a male Negro, 5'8" to 5'9", with a bright complexion, soft voice, weighing 155 to 160 pounds.

[redacted] added that LOMIS PAYNE is also a graduate of Carver High School. Neither PAYNE or FRIERSON is known to be a member of the Invaders, but would know most of the Invaders, as this group grew out of Carver High School.

This information was immediately furnished to Lt. E. H. ARKIN, and to Lt. BOB LINVILLE of the Memphis Police Department, Homicide Bureau. LINVILLE said the autopsy showed ANTHONY WARREN had been shot in the back, the bullet entering at a downward angle which would indicate he was sitting down when shot. He was deeply appreciative of the information regarding FRISON and said he would get a photograph and exhibit same to PAYNE and CLIFFORD TAYLOR and if they identified it, he would get murder warrants for HARRINGTON, BALLARD, and FRISON and search warrants for their homes.

LINVILLE was also told that HARRINGTON's father has an old 1960-61 Oldsmobile, two tone, which he drives to work at the Pure Oil Company Bulk Plant.

On the morning of 1/31/69, Lt. ARKIN advised that FRISON, HARRINGTON, and BALLARD were arrested by Shelby County Sheriff's Office on the morning of 1/31/68. They were all charged with murder. They allegedly confessed saying WARREN was killed in Shelby County, claiming it was an accident. All of these individuals are in custody of Shelby County. ANTHONY WARREN lives at 56 East Fernwood with his mother and sister. He was killed with a .38 caliber bullet. FRISON admitted he was the one who shot WARREN at about 9:30 p.m., Tuesday night, 1/28/69; the motivation for the killing is unknown at this time.

NOTE: [redacted] on 1/7/69 furnished the writer with photographs of ANTHONY "RED" WARREN, associate of CLIFFORD TAYLOR, taken on Beale Street on 1/6/69. He was standing with WATSON PALMER GUNTER, another Invader, and carrying about $250 worth of new clothes, including a suit, from Pape's Men's Shop, Beale Street. WARREN had only recently been released on bond at Nashville, Tennessee.

Lt. LINVILLE added that when WARREN's body was found, his pockets contained several gelatin capsules, possibly a drug.

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5010-108

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : SAC, MEMPHIS (157-1067) DATE: 2/13/69

FROM : SA WILLIAM H. LAWRENCE

SUBJECT: INVADERS
RM

On 1/29/69, [redacted] furnished to writer a stenographer's notebook which he had found at the National Council of Churches Convention at the Peabody Hotel following the press conference which the Invaders held at the convention 1/23/69. The notebook, he said, was obvriously started by the original Invaders group headed by CHARLES CABBAGE and JOHN B. SMITH and it appeared to have notations recently placed therein by the newer group of Invaders headed by LANCE WATSON, ROY LEE TURKS and MELVIN SMITH. Writer xeroxed this notebook on 1/29/69 [redacted]. A xerox of same was made available 1/29/69 to Lt. E. H. ARKIN, Intelligence Division, Memphis, Tennessee PD,

1 - 157-1067
1 - 170-70-SUB (ME 338-R)
1 - 157-1423 (BUF)
1 - 170-1034
1 - 170-1034
1 - 100-4528
1 - 157-1070
1 - 157-1111
1 - 157-1745
1 - 157-1753
1 - 157-New (
1 - 157-New (
1 - 157- (
1 - 157-
1 - 170-1180
1 - 157-1399
1 - 157-1229
1 - 157-1609
1 - 157-New
1 - 66-1687-SUB (DISSEMINATION)

[redacted]

170-70-Sub

SEARCHED ... INDEXED ...
SERIALIZED ... FILED ...
FEB 17 1969
FBI — MEMPHIS

NHL:cjs
(20)

who has a similar interest in the Invader Organization.

The cover of the notebook bears the name LARRY DAVIS (apparently LARRY LARUE DAVIS) and "DOCK" (apparently ARTHUR NORWOOD), both original Invaders. The inside cover bears the name CABBAGE, 924 - (illegible), Decatur, Illinois (this would be the older brother of CHARLES, VAN And RICHARD CABBAGE). Another page bears the name RUSSELL GOLAR, 245 Barfield Avenue, Atlanta, Georgia (It is noted that CHARLES CABBAGE's earlier girl friend was ANN GOLAR of Atlanta, Georgia). It contains the name "EDWINA's brothers, phone 276-7548" and contains the notation BESSIE, phone 947-4421, Ext. 281, and also phone number 743-3410. It contains the notation "Park Commission Office Mr. HATTAWAY, phone 324-3515". It contains the notation "Home phone 398-2088" and the notatation "State Security Underwriters", phone 523-1551. It contains notation Mrs. LELIA CRAWFORD, 237 Ingle, followed by number 94 and the notation WLOK (this is a Negro radio station), phone 527-9565, beneath which is the name Mr. MALLARY. It contains the notation WDIA (Negro radio station), phone 278-4551, and KATHRYN THOMAS, phone 946-5315, and the number 458-8053 followed by the name FRED SMOTHER and the words "Sec. of Union". The notation "Katz phone 948-1691" appears and the notation Roxie Houston following by "Display check" and the numbers 183629-C-T and 183628-C-T, which apparently are account numbers. The notation Blackburn's Office, 527-6611, station 28 (apparently MALCOLM D. BLACKBURN, Pastor of CME Church, 280 Hernando, formerly used as Invaders Headquarters) appears in the book, as well as the notation Mr. COX (ALLEY CREW), phone 946-4377, and the notation BERNICE SEAY, phone 275-7156, and GEORGIA JACKSON, 1801 South Barksdale, phone 942-3688. Also appearing is the notation SADIE CABBAGE, 527-6781, and JOHN T. FISHER (president of John T. Fisher Motor Company) called at home 683-7010 or office 275-1143, T. W. HORN returned call. The notation AYTHA, phone 946-3844 appears and W. D. GALBREATH, 525-3681 (This is apparently W. D. GALBREATH, head of W. D. Galbreath and Company, a mortgage firm).

Another page contained the notations, Presspine Donation Ice House $1.25 Presspine $1, and a stamped notation similar to those used by business firms used in stamping checks for deposit reading "For deposit only, Pay to the Order of Union Planters National Bank", followed by the stamp ALECK PINSTEIN or ANNIE PINSTEIN, #02-232-2560. (It is noted that during 8/68, the Memphis PD, as well as this Bureau, received information from various informants to the effect the Invaders were then extorting money

from various business establishments in the Florida Stree area of their then headquarters at 1310 South Florida, among these places being the Ice House, Pinstein's Sundry Store, the P & F Liquor Store, 1276 Florida, and the gorcery store at Olive and Florida). Another notation read "TROY [redacted]'s Shop for Resale" followed by the notation $2, and P & F Liquor Store, 1276 Florida cash $3. A notation Mrs. WILLIAMS, 942-3917 appears, as well as notations Farrow followed by word violent (it is noted Farrow Street is just east of the former Invaders Headquarters at 1310 Florida Street) and J.S. Liquor Store $2. Another notation reads "SMITH" (apparently JOHN B. SMITH) (collected $5 from the store on Olive and Florida).

Another sheet of paper contained handwriting which appears to be a signature notation, not unlike a register, by the following names, several of whom have recently been identified by Memphis PD Undercover Agents [redacted] as new members of the Invaders, particularly as recently as 1/69:

CARL S. ARMSTRONG

GEORGE WINFREY

Mr. X.

JAMES COLEMAN

JAMES WILSON

EARL DAVIS, JR.

CURTIS L. DAVIS

JEWELL VINSON (It is noted that this is an alias of JOE LEE BURNS, also known as King Jewell's Father, who is a new Invader).

Another page contained hand printed notation, "We should have more men on the job we had a few hangups. But all went well? We feel last night that we need eight men on the outside, when the inside men bring the trouble outside they will have did their job if the man is to hot the outside man will not let this man back inside the places. The man on the door will ask people can we sceah them you do not put hands on him before this. If they

do not want to be seach they cannot come in. The men on table waech will look out for coat and pocketbook crooks not one man will talk two these people all table men will move in at one time."

Lt. ARKIN stated that this is undoubtedly a program set up by the Invaders who have recently been apparently gettin shake-down money from the U-Bar Lounge and the Twilight Zone Lounge on Hernando Street and Beale Street for doing so-called guard duty and they have been frequenting these places during January and early February, 1969.

On two pages are handwritten notes captioned "Call these".

(Lt. ARKIN told SA HOWELL S. LOWE, writer, and Det. JERRY DAVIS, Intelligence Bureau, Memphis PD, after studying the following list and talking with [redacted] that this is a list of contacts of the Invaders who can be called for various help and circumstantially some of them are probably members of the Invaders. [redacted] recalled that during the 11/25-26/67 take-over at LeMoyne-Owen College, jointly sponsored by Invaders and SDS, that they called quite a few people in a chain phone calling proposition, resulting in numerous people converging on the campus almost instantaneously) These names are:

DEBORAH KING, phone 946-9516

BEATRICE SEMON, 526-0030

MANITA WOODY, 946-8256

FIELD MARSHALL, 275-7738 (This is undoubtedly Field Marshall ANTRAIBN SHADAD, whose real name is ANTHONY WAYNE BAILEY, III, who is currently serving time in the Shelby County Jail on a charge of possession of marijuan and who has been a Black Knight and associate of the Invaders in the past.)

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KAREN SMITH, phone 525-1040

FREDDIE STEWART, phone 946-2398

WILLIE RANKIN, phone 946-2314

CHESTER PHILLIPS, 946-3921

JOHN NELSON, 942-0658

MERLINE HERRON, 942-4908 (she is currently an Invader)

PAULETTE (LNU), 946-8501

(IO) L. O. (or Q) illegible) phone 527-8289

JAMES BOYKIN, 946-8267

JOHNNIE BERRY, phone 942-4117 (It is noted this is the wife of BEN HEARD BERRY, Invader, currently incarcerated Shelby County Jail, indicted for the 8/24/68 shooting of Memphis PD Officer WADDELL)

WILLIE (LNU), phone 948-0820

MERTISE WOODY, 946-8256

KENNETH Y. LEE, 947-6300

BURL WOODHOUSE, 946-2358

IRVING, JR., phone 942-2696

HOLLIS (last name not listed), phone 946-7588

KATHRYN THOMAS, 946-5315

FRANCES BERRY, 942-4117 (note this is the same number used for JOHNNIE BERRY, supra)

Another page was a continuation of the list and listed the following:

CALVIN COX, 946-2398

ROBERT COX, 946-2398

FBI-Withers-1563

WILLIE COX, 946-2398 (It is not certain that WILLIE's last name is COX but no last name is shown for him and he has the same phone number as CALVIN and ROBERT COX.)

WYODA (last name not listed), 946-8256

GENTRY (last name not listed), phone 948-5730

CHARLYNE (last name not listed), 946-0852

WILLIE GRANDBERRY, 947-3484

ROLAND GRICE, 946-5171

PETER HATTER, 947-7018 (It is noted that PETER HATTER is a notorious fence in Memphis, has numerous convictions, is well known as a police character, and it will be recalled that during the summer of 1968 when CHARLES L. CABBAGE and his girl friend, EDWINA HARRELL, both of Invaders, were involved in the disposal of proceeds of the CME Church Headquarters on South Parkway, both [redacted] advised that CHARLES CABBAGE was frequently in contact with PETER HATTER, ostensibly using HATTER as a fence for some of his ill-gotten merchandise.)

JULIA or LULIA JONES, 942-9924

MOND L. JONES, 947-6605

GEORGE JONES, 946-7959

GAMMIE or GAMMIC KING, 947-7273

EARNESTINE EDWARDS, 948-9721

LOIS MC INTOSH, 942-2219

LOIS LANTON, 946-9676 (It is noted she has worked as a waitress at the Playboy Villa, proprietor - ROY "DUKE" FOSTER, where the Invaders have frequently hung and operated out of during the past year.)

ALSISE (probably ALICE) BROWN, 942-3461

CASSE LANE FERGUSON, 948-9566 (Believed to be sister of Invaders JOHN HENRY FERGUSON and REGINALD FERGUSON)

FBI Withers 1564

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5010-106

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : SAC (157-1067) DATE: 2/7/69

FROM : SA WILLIAM H. LAWRENCE

SUBJECT: INVADERS, aka.
RM

On 1/29/69 [redacted] furnished SA WILLIAM H. LAWRENCE with the following information which was orally disseminated to Lt. E. H. ARKIN, Intelligence Bureau, Memphis, Tennessee, Police Department:

1 - 157-1067 (Invaders)
1 - 157-1423 (BUF)
1 - 170-70 Sub (ME 338-R)
1 - 157-1127 (Stockpiling of Arms and Ammunition)
1 - 157-556 (Possible Racial Violence, Major Urban areas)
1 - 157-1583 ([redacted]
1 - 91-3981 ([redacted]
1 - 157- ([redacted]
1 - 157-1754 ([redacted]
1 - 157-1647 ([redacted]
1 - 157-1351 ([redacted]
1 - 100-4949 (National Council of Churches)
1 - 157-1553 ([redacted]
1 - 157-1230 ([redacted]
1 - 157-1626 ([redacted]
1 - 157-1646 ([redacted]
1 - 157-1563 ([redacted]
1 - 157-1652 ([redacted]
1 - 157-1705 ([redacted]
1 - 66-1687 Sub A (Dissemination)

WHL:gmh
(20)

170-70-Sub [redacted]

Re: Driver of Invaders Car

On 1/29/69 [redacted] advised that among the Invaders at the National Council of Churches meeting 1/23/69 who were not photographed was one light-skinned Invader who drove Invader MAURICE LEWIS in this car, a Chevrolet, 1969 Tennessee License BV 0238. (NOTE: This is probably DONALD PIGFORD.)

Re: 1/28/69 Arrest of JOHN CHARLES SMITH

Also on the night of 1/28/69 Memphis Police Department Officers arrested Invader JOHN CHARLES SMITH near Beale and Hernando at about 8 p.m. An Invaders member called "STROLL" (LNU) watched the arrest. He in turn got to a telephone and called Invader MELVIN SMITH attempting to get as many Invaders as possible on the scene to harass the police. Fortunately, the Police Department officers effectuated the arrest before a crowd of Invaders could form.

Re: Invaders Women Planning All-Night Vigil at St. Patrick's Church

The Invaders women such as SHIRLEY YOUNG, MARLENE TAYLOR, ETHEL TAYLOR, aka Staples, CACHEATUH SMITH, also known as Chiquita Smith, are planning an all-night vigil at St. Patrick's Catholic Church on Vance Avenue to stimulate support for Invaders Chairman LANCE "SWEET WILLIE WINE" WATSON, currently in the Shelby County Jail, on a pistol carrying and extortion charge. They want to make a martyr of WINE and to publicize the fact that "he needs to be hospitalized" as a result of his "so-called fast."

Re: Elderly Californian JACK MITCHELL, Negro, Attempting to Sell Walkie Talkies and Guns to Invaders

On or about 1/28/69 an elderly Negro, about 69 years old named JACK MITCHELL, who had been in town for a few days, was attempting to hitchhike to Washington, D. C. He claims to be from Los Angeles and tried to see GERALD FANION to sell some walkie talkies or a gun. FANION was not interested. He tried to sell the walkie talkies to Invaders

FBI-Withers-1566

leader MELVIN SMITH who told MITCHELL, "We don't want talking machines. We want guns!" MITCHELL would not sell MELVIN a gun. He was staying in a room near Danny Thomas Boulevard and Mississippi Boulevard. He is not believed to be an activist but more of a "con man."

Re: National Council of Churches' Interest in Invaders

During the National Council of Churches (NCC) conference in Memphis on the week ending 1/25/69 BOB GORE, allegedly of the NCC, New York, N. Y., and claiming to be connected with the Presbyterian Church, offered to help Invaders get funds from NCC. On 1/27/69 ROY LEE TURKS, "Information Minister" of the Invaders, claimed that GORE telephoned Invaders Sunday night, 1/26/69, from New York, N. Y., giving them encouragement.

TURKS was trying to borrow $15.00 to pay his room rent. He is living in a rooming house in the 300 block of Vance Avenue, living allegedly with JAMES NORMAN, the big husky Invader who, a couple of months ago, cut his foot badly when he kicked in a glass enclosure on Beale Street.

Re: Possible Bank Robbery Associate of ROBERT LEE "CORNBREAD" WILSON

Regarding the suspect in the 12/30/68 robbery of the Walls, Mississippi bank, involving Invader ROBERT LEE "CORNBREAD" WILSON, namely a soldier from Fort Campbell, Kentucky (possibly TYRONE HAYWOOD), [redacted] said he did not know HAYWOOD by name, but that on the night of 1/28/69 he saw a young soldier, name not known, on Beale Street. This individual was stocky and heavy set, built like Invader MICHAEL MOUNTAIN. He has in the past been a Beale Street "hustler" and has only been in the Army for a short while. He was seen in the Beale Street area by [redacted] during the 1968 Christmas holidays.

Re: Invaders' Meeting Each Tuesday Night

The Invaders now hold regular membership meetings at their headquarters, 271 Vance, each Tuesday night at 7:30 to 8:00 p.m.

WITHERS, CARTER INDIGNITY RECEIVED FROM:
FBI AUTOMATED DECLASSIFICATION SYSTEM
DATE 06-08-2012

SAC, MEMPHIS (157-1067) (P) 2/20/69

SA WILLIAM H. LAWRENCE

INVADERS;
RM

On 1/7/69, [redacted] advised that the secretary of the Invaders, CACHEATUN SMITH, has recently been to the Shelby County Jail to visit with the chairman of the Invaders, LANCE "SWEET WILLIE WINE" WATSON currently in jail under a peace bond; that she claims to be in love with WATSON; that she is considering having approximately 5500 large oversized publicity pictures of WINE produced which can be sold by the Invaders in an effort to raise money.

She also wants to start a series of sympathy and publicity maneuvers to turn the community in support of WATSON and against the Memphis PD. She did not get specific. She listed her home phone as 948-1823.

The 1968 city directory shows a Mrs. B. DU BERRY, #948-1823, and a Mrs. BESSIE DU BERRY, 172 West Person, Apartment D, phone 948-1823, at this address. It also shows a SHIRLEY SMITH at this address. [redacted] advised that Mrs. DU BERRY is either SMITH's mother or grandmother. He believes SHIRLEY SMITH is her mother. At the time of interview CHARLES L. CABBAGE was missing and was being sought as a Federal fugitive and informant stated that an associate of CABBAGE and former leader of the Invaders, CHARLES BAILLARD, had recently stated that if he were to look for CABBAGE he would look for him South, in the area of Atlanta, Georgia.

1 - 157-1067
1 - 170-70-SUB ME 338-R
1 - 157-1563
1 - 157-1258
1 - 157-1114
1 - 100-4528
1 - 157-1508

[redacted]

170-70-Sub [redacted]

WHL:PEH
(7)

DECLASSIFICATION AUTHORITY DERIVED FROM:
FBI AUTOMATIC DECLASSIFICATION GUIDE
DATE: 05-29-2012

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : SAC (157-1067) DATE: 2/26/69

FROM : SA WILLIAM H. LAWRENCE

SUBJECT INVADERS
RM

On 1/17/69 [redacted] advised that the unknown Invader who has been depicted in several photographs, including the one at the welfare mothers rights march on 11/30/68, who wore the tam and glasses and who is known as "SPIDER," had just recently told him that on the night of 1/16/69 the Invaders started to possibly kill a male Negro or at least throw him into the Mississippi River whom they had caught. This Negro they had caught allegedly was from Detroit and that they felt he was a police informer. The writer indicated he was the one who detected this because the person from Detroit kept talking about places which he had frequented in Detroit, that "SPIDER" had been to Detroit himself and recognized the places as police hangouts. He stated that the group thinks he is a spy. (Circumstantially, this is OTIS PARNELL, aka Elijah Parker, who according to MPD undercover agent [redacted] was suspected at this time of being a plant because of the fact that he had some Detroit, Mich., cards one of which was allegedly that of a Detroit PD officer in his possession, but apparently PARNELL is being permitted to remain in the Invaders.)

1 - 157-1067
1 - 170-70-Sub (ME 338-R)
1 - 157-1423 (BUF)
1 - 157- [redacted]
1 - 157-1752
1 - 157-1205 (Black Panthers)
1 - 100-4518 [redacted]
1 - 157-1508
1 - 157-1019
1 - 100-4394
1 - 100-4528
1 - 157-1435 (Liberator)
1 - 157-1662 [redacted]
1 - 157-Dead [redacted]
1 - 66-1687-Sub (Dissemination)
WHL:mnr
(15)

170-70-Sub [redacted]
SEARCHED ... INDEXED ...
SERIALIZED ... FILED ...
1969
FBI — MEMPHIS

FD-36 (Rev. 12-13-56)

DECLASSIFICATION AUTHORITY DERIVED FROM:
FBI AUTOMATIC DECLASSIFICATION GUIDE
DATE 03-03-2012

FBI

Date: 3/3/69

Transmit the following in _____ (Type in plain text or code)

Via AIRTEL _____ (Priority or Method of Mailing)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (157-8460)

FROM: SAC, MEMPHIS (157-1067) (P)

SUBJECT: CHANGED
INVADERS, aka
Black Organizing Project,
Community Organizing Project,
Black United Front
RM

Title of instant case being changed to reflect true current nature of organization, formerly carried as "BLACK ORGANIZING PROJECT, aka Invaders, Afro-American Brotherhood, Downtown Association, LeMoyne Intercollegiate Chapter of NAACP, and Black Student Association."

Re Memphis airtel and LHM 12/4/68.

Enclosed herewith for the Bureau are 11 copies of LHM captioned as above and dated 3/3/69.

Copies of LHM are being disseminated to U. S. Secret Service, Memphis, and to regional offices of Military Intelligence.

3-Bureau (Encs. 11)(RM)
8-Memphis
(1 - 157-1067)
(1 - 157-1423 - BUF)
(1 - 157-556 - Possible Racial Violence Major Urban Areas)
(1 - 157-1168 - Racial Situation in Tennessee)
(1 - 157-1308 - COME)
(1 - 100-4949 - National Council of Churches)
(1 - 170-70-Sub - ME 338-R)
(1 - 66-1687-Sub - Dissemination)
WHL:wp
(11)

SEARCHED _____
SERIALIZED _____
INDEXED _____
FILED _____

170-70-Sub

FBI-Withers-1570

Approved: _____ Sent _____ M Per _____
Special Agent in Charge

DECLASSIFICATION AUTHORITY DERIVED FROM
SET AUTOMATIC DECLASSIFICATION GUIDE
DATE 02-25-2012

OPTIONAL FORM NO. 10
MAY 1962 EDITION
GSA GEN. REG. NO. 27
5010-108

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : SAC, MEMPHIS (157-1067) DATE: 3/6/69

FROM : SA WILLIAM H. LAWRENCE

SUBJECT: INVADERS
RM

FBI-Withers-1571

On 2/7/69, [redacted] advised that the petty cash treasurer of the Invaders, an elderly Negro man, about 55 years of age, white headed, named JAMES PEGUES, has a 1964 or 1965 blue Pontiac, four-door sedan, bearing license BK-5893, that he is the same one who was with the Invaders during the night of 11/25 and early morning of 11/26/68 when they, along with Students for a Democratic Society, took over the Administration Building of LeMoyne-Owen College, supporting a student series of demands.

Informant is trying to talk with PEGUES to determine what makes him tick and determine why an older man such as he would spend so much time with the Invaders, but thus far has been unable to get any real rapport with him.

Informant advised that a night or so before the meeting was held, probably the night of 2/5/69, the group consisting of Southern Christian Leadership Conference, Committee on Move For Equality (COME) and Invaders to plan a celebration of some sort on 4/4/69 which will be the first anniversary date of the murder of Dr. MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR., at the Lorraine Motel, this meeting was held at the Minimum Salary Building, a cross section of white and black leaders were present. ROY LEE TURKS represented the Invaders, TAYLOR BLAIR, organizer of the International Brotherho

170-70-Sub [redacted]

SEARCHED..... INDEXED.....
SERIAL FILED
MAR 10 1969
FBI — MEMPHIS

1 - 157-1067 (INVADERS)
1 - 170-70 Sub (ME 338-R)
1 - 157-1636 ([redacted])
1 - 157-1308 (COME)
1 - 157-166 (SCLC)
1 - 157-1553
1 - 100-4575
1 - 170-1064
1 - 157-1403
1 - 44-1987 (MURKIN)
1 -
1 - 157-1114
1 - 157-1351
1 - 100-662 (NAACP)
1 - 157-1559 [redacted]
1 - 66-1687 Sub (Dissemination)
WHL:tjm (24)

1 - 100 (Tenn. Council on Human Relations)
1 -157-1675
1 -157-1626
1-157-1696
1-157-1714
1-157-1563
1 - 157-1258

[redacted]

of Electrical Workers, which is trying to organize the blue collar workers at the Memphis, Light, Gas and Water Division was there.

Details have not yet been effected and it is undetermined as just what will take place on 4/4/69.

Invader CLIFFORD LOUIS TAYLOR, currently in jail on a charge of the shotgun shooting of an alleged suitor of his wife, is desperately trying to get out on bond.

Another former active Invader, DON NEELY, who is AWOL from the U. S. Army, is still working the Beale Street area. He figures he will be arrested momentarily. He has grown a beard.

Another former Invader, REUBEN WATTS and EDWARD REED TAYLOR, brother of CLIFFORD LOUIS TAYLOR, hang out on Beale Street. They have not recently engaged in any Invaders activity.

REUBEN WATTS indicated that he is writing a book although he did not elaborate.

The Memphis private investigator RENFRO TURNER HAYS who allegedly did some investigation on behalf of the first attorney of JAMES EARL RAY, indicted killer of Dr. MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR., namely Attorney HAYNES of Birmingham, Alabama, may be preparing to write a book concerning his experiences in investigating the death of KING. He has been talking to BILL SARTER or SARTOR of Greenville, Mississippi, white male, who has done free-lance writing for Time magazine and Life magazine and RENFRO HAYS has gone to New York City to see about having a story published.

ROY LEE TURKS and MAURICE LEWIS, both Invaders, have recently stated that they are about to hook up with the Memphis Branch NAACP youth council and that the youth council may take them to Atlanta, Georgia, to some regional youth council meeting. Informant pointed out that TURKS and LEWIS are primarily interested in trying to "con" money from the NAACP and are not sincerely interested in the NAACP program.

Informant advised that BAXTON BRYANT, Executive Secretary of the Tennessee Council on Human Relations, a White male, red headed, has been in town. He claims that he is investigating the fact that an alleged white landlord told some white girls, living in a Negro neighborhood that they had too many Negro visitors and would have to move. Another case in which BRYANT is interested is the fact that the woman who works for the Dryfus Jewelry Company, a blond, who has been so active in interracial activities and who was with the Invaders and other groups at the Lorraine Motel during the demonstrations during the Spring of 1968, and who has a son who wears steel-rimmed glasses and who frequents the Southern Christian Leadership Conference youth choirs in Memphis, is also involved in alleged housing discrimination. This woman, whose name may be Mrs. DOCKERY (phonetic), stated that her son used to attend Messick High School, that she lives near Memphis State University in an apartment, that some of the neighbors are bring pressure on the landlord because she has so many Negro visitors at her home.

The picture of her son is depicted in the photograph of JAMES BEVEL when BEVEL held his news conference in Memphis, the night 1/23/69, at Clayborne Temple. The lad is with two Negro girls from the SCLC who were interviewing BEVEL during the time that he made his public charge that JAMES EARL RAY was not guilty of the killing of Dr. MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.

JUANITA MILLER, an Invaderette, is the one who got up the money for JOHN CHARLES SMITH's bond when he was arrested 1/28/69, on the charge of disorderly conduct. She claims that she is in love with JOHN CHARLES, that she is now going to a trade school on North Cleveland, being sponsored by the Tennessee Department of Public Welfare.

Some of the Invaders sold leaflets of the Invaders at the recent DUKE ELLINGTON guest appearance with the Memphis Symphony Orchestra at the Ellis Auditorium.

JAMES NORMAN, a young Invader and JOE LEE BURNS, JR., aka KING JEWEL, both of whom are young thugs, recently broke a window out at the Blue Stallion Night Club on Beale Street and later got into a fight and broke out a window at the Invaders Headquarters, 271 Vance.

CACHEATUH SMITH, secretary of the Invaders, claims that she is now pregnant, that the father of her child to be, is LANCE SWEET WILLIE WINE WATSON, who is currently in Shelby County Jail. She claims that she is in love with WATSON. CACHEATUH SMITH still hopes to have 1,000 copies of a slick photograph, 8x10 inches in size of LANCE SWEET WILLIE WINE WATSON taken with a clinched raised fist which the Invaders will sell in an effort to make his peace bond. They will sell these photographs for $1. She has made a $50 deposit, still owes approximately $72 and cannot get the pictures until the $72 is paid.

MICHAEL MOUNTAIN, who spends considerable time with the Invaders and who recently indicated that he was through with the Invaders, but reversed his field when he marched with them during the 1/23/69 National Council of Churches MARTIN LUTHER KING Memorial March. He stated that he is going to St. Louis to live. He did not elaborate.

The information set forth herein has been disseminated to the Intelligence Bureau, Memphis, Tennessee, PD.

FBI Withers 1574

DECLASSIFICATION AUTHORITY DERIVED FROM:
FBI AUTOMATIC DECLASSIFICATION GUIDE
DATE: 11-14-2011

OPTIONAL FORM NO. 10
MAY 1962 EDITION
GSA GEN. REG. NO. 27
5010-106

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : SAC, MEMPHIS (157-1067) (P) DATE: 3/6/69

FROM : SA WILLIAM H. LAWRENCE

SUBJECT: INVADERS;
RM

On 2/13/69, [redacted] advised that in a recent talk with some of the Invaders including ROY LEE TURKS and MELVIN SMITH that he has learned that the Committee on the Move for Equality (COME) will promote the Dr. MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR., memorial day on 4/4/69 to commemorate the anniversary date of Dr. KING's shooting in Memphis. He learned that one MICHAEL RONALD STARKS, nephew of Reverend HENRY LOGAN STARKS, apparently came to Memphis to help promote the day. He knows little about MICHAEL STARKS pointing out that he is not identical with MICHAEL JEROME STARKS, local Memphis Negro who is with the Invaders.

He pointed out that he has also learned that the man who runs the furniture store around 273 Vance and who owns that building rents space on the west end of the building to the Invaders, their office being located at 271 Vance.

1 - 157-1067
1 - 170-70-SUB (ME 338-R)
1 - 157-1423 BUF
1 - 157-1675 [redacted]
1 - 157-1626
1 - 157-1553
1 - 105-166 NO
1 - 157-1277 [redacted]
1 - 157-1351
1 - 157-1647
1 - 157-1230
1 - 157-109 SNCC
1 - 157-1263 [redacted]
1 - 157-1258
1 - 66-1687 SUB DISSEMINATION

170-70-Sub [redacted]

WHL:PEH
(15)

SEARCHED ..... INDEXED .....
SERIALIZED ..... FILED .....
MAR 10 1969
FBI — MEMPHIS

He also learned that one ALEX WILLIAMS whose daughter attends Carver High School and who runs the Williams Printing Company on Hernando Street, Memphis, was allegedly beaten up by the Invaders about three months ago, that he lost an eye or at least had a severe eye injury, that he was probably a patient at Baptist Hospital, that ARTHUR "Big Doc" NORWOOD was allegedly the Invader who inflicted the damage to his eye. The beating apparently took place at a night spot in South Memphis. The owner would not allow WILLIAMS after he was injured to use the telephone; he had to go to a phone on Kansas Street nearby and call an ambulance. He does not know the details of this matter.

They indicated that WILLIAMS was reluctant to swear out a warrant charging any of the Invaders with the physical assault of WILLIAMS.

Informant added that JOHN CHARLES SMITH is now out on bond as a result of his recent disorderly conduct arrest at Fourth and Beale; that QUANITA MILLER, aka Anita Miller, one of the Invaderettes who has a two-year old mute or deaf child, is now in love with JOHN CHARLES SMITH and she writes numerous love letters to him, some of which he openly displays. She is the person who raised his bond money. She indicated she is now being sent to school by the Welfare Department, that she is attending a trade school on North Cleveland located north of Madison Avenue, and that the school and welfare officials feel that she is psycho and want to send her to a psychiatrist.

Informant added that the Invaders apparently do not have much free money because ROY LEE TURKS, minister of information, is continually borrowing small amounts of money from people in that area of town.

Informant advised that when the Nation of Islam (NOI) held a meeting at Ellis Auditorium on the night of Saturday, 2/8/69, featuring the speaker as CASSIUS CLAY, former heavyweight boxing champion of the world now using the name Muslim name of Muhammad Ali, that Muhammad Ali "took the wind out of the sails" of the Invaders by emphasizing the fact that no black extremist group can hope to win in the United States because they would be so badly outnumbered. He likened the black militants to a brave bull but, nevertheless, a foolish bull who would be willing to charge a large

locomotive coming down the railroad track, pointing out that the bull would be completely disintegrated by the locomotive and that, in fact, this is what the black extremist groups are doing, namely, committing mass suicide if they try to take on all of society.

EMMETT HOUSE is now back with the Invaders. He is is not working. He loafs and hangs around the pool rooms and eating joints in the Beale Street area.

Informant pointed out that ROY LEE TURKS and possibly MAURICE LEWIS of the Invaders are scheduled to be on WDIA trial log either Sunday, 2/16 or 2/23/69. This program is moderated by ROBERT RICHARDS, a white male who is news editor of WDIA.

The main workers among the Invaders at the present time who seem to be running the organization now that LANCE WATSON is in the Shelby County Jail are MAURICE LEWIS, ROY LEE TURKS, LEWIS WELCH, MELVIN SMITH, and DONALD PIGFORD.

CACHEATUH SMITH, secretary of the Invaders, stated that PIGFORD was recently interviewed by Federal authorities in an effort to trace down a Post Office box currently being used by the Invaders. Apparently the box was in PIGFORD's name, according to SMITH.

Informant advised that a few days before JOHN BRITTON, managing editor of Jet magazine, a Johnson publication, headquarters at Chicago, Illinois, called MELVIN SMITH following the speech of Muhammad Ali and found out from MELVIN that only a very few persons attended the meeting. The meeting was attended by a large group of Invaders. SMITH told BRITTON that BOB GORE of the United Presbyterian Church, currently on loan to the National Council of Churches and who met with the Invaders during the NCC convention in Memphis during the week ending 1/25/69 is still trying to get money for the Invaders; that GORE had promised publicity in Jet magazine for the Invaders and financial help.

BRITTON indicated that GORE could not speak for Jet magazine. MELVIN then tried to dictate to BRITTON to have some of BRITTON's New York "Jet" representatives contact GORE and have GORE call MELVIN SMITH.

The Invaders are attempting to raise money by having 1000 eight inch by ten inch glossy photos of LANCE WATSON made up which they will then try to sell for $1.00 or more each. To date, they have made a $50 deposit on the photos which will cost approximately $130. ROY LEE TURKS has indicated that the Invaders have good contacts in Atlanta and the only group which informant could think of would be the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee.

DECLASSIFICATION AUTHORITY DERIVED FROM
FBI AUTOMATIC DECLASSIFICATION GUIDE
DATE 07-04-2017

4/1/69

AIRTEL

TO: SAC, ATLANTA

FROM: SAC, MEMPHIS (157-1067) (P)

SUBJECT: INVADERS

For info of Atlanta, photo of LANCE "SWEET WILLIE WINK" WATSON is in Black Nationalist Photo Album, copy sent to Atlanta. He is in Security Index and Agitator Index, is chairman of Invaders, militant, violence prone Black Power group in Memphis.

For past two months he has been confined to Shelby County, Tenn., Jail, Memphis, unable to make $1,500 peace bond.

On 3/31/69, Detective [redacted] Intelligence Bureau, Memphis, Tenn., PD, advised SA WILLIAM H. LAWRENCE that WATSON got out on bond night of 3/29/69 and flew from Memphis to Atlanta, Ga., about 2:30 AM, 3/31/69, for unknown purpose.

A reliable PD source told [redacted] that Mrs. TARLESE MATHEWS, Negro female operator of Eureka Barber Shop, Memphis, who helped arrange WATSON's bond, wants him to stay in Atlanta until after the scheduled 4/4/69 mass march in Memphis memorializing assassination of MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.

[redacted] advised on 3/31/69 that WATSON may be in Atlanta to try to "con" SCLC leaders out of money as the Invaders have been arguing with SCLC personnel re getting money to serve as parade marshals 4/4/69.

2 - Atlanta
5 - Memphis
1 - 157-1067
1 - 157-1258 [redacted]
1 - 157-1678 [redacted] 170-70-Sub [redacted]
1 - 170-70 Sub (ME 338-R)
1 - 157-1838 (Commemoration Martin Luther King Assassination 4/4/69)

WHL:jap
(7)

FBI Withers 1170

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Spec. Del.
Reg. Mail
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SEARCHED
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INDEXED
FILED

LEAD:

ATLANTA DIVISION

AT ATLANTA, GEORGIA Will through PD and racial sources endeavor to ascertain WATSON's activities in Atlanta.

FBI-Withers-1171

SAC, MEMPHIS (157-1067) 5/6/69

SA WILLIAM H. LAWRENCE

INVADERS
RM

(Re: JIGGS or GIGGS, dope peddler, Furnished Material to Invaders Summer of 1968)

In view of the fact the Memphis, Tennessee PD is very much interested in identifying the slender male Negro, GIBBS or JOGGS, a Beale Street character who sold so much marijuana and drugs to the Invaders during the summer of 1968, [redacted] on 4/23 and 4/25/69, advised the writer that JIGGS got out of Manassas High School around 1963, he used to live on Olympic Street, and he is a sharp dresser.

On 4/25/69, [redacted] advised that as of the night of 4/24/69, JIGGS was dropped off at his current residence, a rooming house at 87 E. McKellar, a frame building. He is living there with a Negro [redacted] ERNESTINE JOHNSON.

On 4/25/69, this information was orally furnished to Det. JERRY C. DAVIS, Intelligence Bureau, Memphis, Tennessee PD.

1 - 157-1067
1 - 170-70-SUB (MR 338-R)
1 - 157- Dead [redacted]

WHL:cjs
(3)

170-70-[redacted]
6-1969

DECLASSIFICATION AUTHORITY DER 993 BY
FBI AUTOMATIC DECLASSIFICATION GUIDE
DATE 05 31 2012

OPTIONAL FORM NO. 10
MAY 1962 EDITION
GSA GEN. REG. NO. 27
5010-106

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : SAC, MEMPHIS (157-1067) DATE: 5/6/69

FROM : SA WILLIAM H. LAWRENCE

SUBJECT: INVADERS
RM

On 3/13/69, [redacted] orally advised SA WILLIAM H. LAWRENCE as follows:

BAXTON BRYANT, Executive Director, Tennessee Council on Human Relations, has recently been trying to get jobs at Wonder Bread Company for Invaders, MELVIN SMITH and JOHN CHARLES SMITH. He has also been trying to get them jobs at John T. Fisher Motor Company.

1 - 157-1067 (Invaders)
1 - 170-70-SUB (ME 338-R)
1 - 100-3481 (Tennessee Council on Human Relations and BAXTON BRYANT)
1 - 157-1230 [redacted]
1 - 157-1626
1 - 157-1642
1 - 157-166 (SCLC)
1 - 170-1152 [redacted]
1 - 157-1380
1 - 157-1578
1 - 157-1310
1 - 157-1812 (Black Liberation Front, Lane College)
1 - 100-4528 [redacted]
1 - 157-1563
1 - 157-1258
1 - 157-
1 - 157-1741
1 - 157-1754
1 - 66-1687-SUB (Dissemination)
1 - 157-1849 (Black Egyptians)
1 - 157-1418 [redacted]
1 - 157-1071
1 - 157-1815 (BSA - MSU)
1 - 157-163[redacted]
1 - 157-

WHL:cjs
(25)

170-70-[redacted]

SEARCHED ____ INDEXED ____
SERIALIZED ____ FILED ____
MAY 7 - 1969
FBI — MEMPHIS

Information Re FRANK BREWER

[redacted] was recently told by Rev. BREWER, Church of God in Christ, that FRANK BREWER, a Chair Director of Southern Christian Leadership Council (SCLC) Freedom Singers and who, a few months ago, was talking "tough" while running with the Invaders, is actually a [redacted]

InformationRe THOMAS NELSON

NELSON is not known to have a job and he is still a song leader for SCLC Freedom Singers.

Rev. SAMUEL BILLY KYLES, Memphis convener of SCLC and Pastor, Monumental Baptist Church, recently commented that he was skeptical of the entire SCLC Freedom Chair movement in Memphis as the participants are too immature and easily influenced by the young militants such as Invaders.

Information Re WILLIAM DOUG RUBIN and HERMAN O'NEIL

The above duo are still field workers for SCLC and allegedly have recently been working for SCLC in Mississippi. SCLC still has its food and clothing warehouse on South Florida Street.

Re Lane College

As a result of recent demands by the Black Liberation Front, Lane College, Jackson, Tenn., some of the Lane students and parents, who live in Memphis, have been having strategy meetings in Clayborn Temple, AME Church, 280 Hernando. The Invaders are trying to exploit this problem but do not know how to do so.

Re CHARLES L. CABBAGE

Now that CHARLES L. CABBAGE, one of the founders of Invaders, is out on bond he has been loafing at Invader Headquarters, 271 Vance, but has taken no apparent affirmative leadership position. The current Invaders do not fully trust CABBAGE.

CACHEATUH UNDRE SMITH Pregnant - Claims by LANCE "SWEET WILLIE WINE" WATSON

CACHEATUH UNDRE SMITH, secretary of Invaders, unmarried, claims she is pregnant and brags that Invader

FBI-Withers-1174

Chairman LANCE "SWEET WILLIE WINE" WATSON is the father of the child to be. She still has not sold the original 300 photos of WINE, of the 1000 ordered several months ago, which the Invaders were trying to sell them to raise money for WINE's bond.

Re MARK SIGGERS

With regard to MARK SIGGERS, recent Navy dischargee who was recently at Memphis State University (MSU) claiming to be a youth organizer for COME (Community on the Move for Equality) [redacted] said there is a MARK SIGGERS, SR., living on South Parkway who has a son who, a few years ago, won an Elks Oratorical Contest.

Re FLOYD PEETE

With regard to MSU Law School student, who has been trying to take over Black Student Association (BSA), [redacted] said that PEETE recently had a job at Shelby County Penal Farm but allegedly lost it because of some sort of unknown misconduct.

Re ANDERSON JORDAN, JR.

On 3/19/69, [redacted] advised Invader ANDERSON JORDAN, JR., claims to be a discharged veteran and claims he was injured in the stomach while in service. He is now living on South Laudordale Street.

MELVIN SMITH Gets a job

[redacted] added that MELVIN SMITH, Invader Minister of Culture, got a job, night shift, at Pioneer Metal Company on Frisco Avenue and got the job through Memphis Area Project-South.

Re Black Egyptians, East St. Louis, Illinois

With regard to the Black Egyptians, 4 from East St. Louis, Illinois, have been in Memphis since 3/17/69 and have been visiting at Invader Headquarters. [redacted] said they claim to have a relative in the Memphis area who has been injured and who they are visiting. There is no indication they have had any prior contacts with Invaders.

Re MARION COLLINS

[redacted] on 3/19/69 said he recently saw MARION "MIKEY" COLLINS, former Black Knight, and that COLLINS said

he is now a "lone wolf" and no longer a Black Knight (BK), and does not like BK Chairman WARREN LEWIS.

Re DAVID ACEY and BSA

DAVID ACEY, NM, MSU student and leader in BSA, MSU, has ordered some blown-up photos of MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR., to put in the Student Center, MSU, as part of a memorial service planned by MSU to commemorate 4/4/69 anniversary of KING's assassination.

Re Alpha Kappa Alpha Sorority to meet Memphis Weekend of 4/4-5/69

Captioned Negro sorority of which KING's widow, CORETTA KING, is a member, will hold its annual Southeastern Convention in Rivermont Inn (Holiday Inn) the weekend of 4/4-5/69. The leaders are:

Mrs. VELMA LOIS JONES
Mrs. MODIS (FNU), her husband teaches at Melrose High School and she is president of the Memphis Chapter.
The Public Relations Director is Mrs. SANNY DELK, who teaches at Booker T. Washington High School;
a Mrs. (FNU) CHAMBERS of Azalia Street, is chairman of the sourvenir unit;
a Mrs. H. C. SHELBY is the treasurer.

They will have 1000 to 2000 in attendance.

Supporters of O. W. PICKETT

[redacted] said O.W. PICKETT, controversial Negro realtor, is running for the vacant seat in 8th Congressional District, in a special 10/25/69 election. He is a political supporter of former Memphis Mayor WILLIAM B. INGRAM and that the Ingram forces, headed by CARL O. BAYSINGER, WM, and retired Brigadier General W. A. DANIELSON, 4559 Stage Road, and (FNU) MARZETTE of Mammoth Insurance Company (Negro, are masterminding PICKETT's campaign.

DANIELSON spends a lot of time in PICKETT's office, giving him advice, and has been doing so for several months.

FBI-Withers-1176

The pertinent above information was furnished to Lt. E. H. ARKIN and Det. JERRY C. DAVIS, both of the Intelligence Bureau, Memphis, Tennessee PD, on 3/13 and 3/19/69.

FBI-Witners-1177

DECLASSIFICATION AUTHORITY DERIVED FROM
FBI AUTOMATIC DECLASSIFICATION GUIDE
DATE 03 08 2012

Memphis, Tennessee
May 9, 1969

Re: INVADERS, also known as
Black Organizing Project
RACIAL MATTERS

On May 7, 1969, a first source advised that a militant black nationalist group of young Memphis, Tennessee, Negroes, now known as Invaders, was originally formed in the Summer and Fall of 1967 by three Memphis Negroes, Coby Vernon Smith, John Burrell Smith, and Charles Laverne Cabbage. During the Fall of 1967 and Spring of 1968, it assumed the name of Black Organizing Project (BOP), with subsidiary cells known as Afro-American Brotherhood (AAB) at Owen College; Black Student Association (BSA) at Memphis State University; LeMoyne Intercollegiate Chapter of the NAACP (LIC, NAACP) at LeMoyne College; Invaders, primarily consisting of high school students and school dropouts; and City Organizers, consisting of young nonstudent adults, all having a combined average membership of about one hundred. The ostensible purpose was to create pride in black identity, to teach black culture and black history, and obtain employment for young blacks.

On May 7, 1969, source one and source two advised that Black Organizing Project (BOP), beginning in the Spring of 1968, degenerated into a group of approximately 30 to 35 young Memphis blacks, who increasingly adopted a philosophy of hatred of the white race, hatred of capitalistic system, and all constituted legal authority, particularly law enforcement agencies. Theirs is a philosophy of nihilism and anarchy.

Both sources added that beginning in the Summer of 1968, the Invaders became a dominant group. LIC, NAACP disbanded. AAB disbanded. BSA at Memphis State University became an autonomous organization with no current formal relationship with the Invaders, and the City Organizers ceased to exist.

2 - Bureau (100-7254)
4 - Memphis
(1 - 100-3208)
(1 - 170-70 Sub, ME 338-R)
(1 - 157-1613, MARRELL MC COLLOUGH)
(1 - 157-1067, Invaders, aka.)

WHL:gmh
(6)

170-70 Sub

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BY [illegible]
NEW AUTOMATIC DECLASSIFICATION RULES
DATE 07 06 2011

DIRECTOR, FBI (100-7254) 5/9/69

SAC, MEMPHIS (100-3208) (C)

CHARACTERIZATION OF SUBVERSIVE
RACIAL, KLAN, WHITE HATE, AND
MILITANT BLACK ORGANIZATIONS

Enclosed herewith for the Bureau is a revised characterization of Invaders, aka Black Organizing Project (BOP), formerly carried as Black Organizing Project, aka.

2 - Bureau (Encs.2)(RM)
4 - Memphis
(1 - 100-3208)
(1 - 170-70 Sub, ME 338-R)
(1 - 157-1613, MARRELL MC COLLOUGH)
(1 - 157-1067, Invaders)
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DECLASSIFICATION AUTHORITY DERIVED FROM
FBI AUTOMATIC DECLASSIFICATION GUIDE
DATE 03-

Optional Form No. 10

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT
MEMORANDUM

TO: SAC, NEW YORK DATE: 5/14/69

FROM: SAC, MEMPHIS (157-1067) (P)

SUBJECT: INVADERS, aka;
RM

On 5/5/69, Detective [redacted], Intelligence Bureau, Memphis, Tennessee, PD, furnished a copy of a report, dated 5/5/69, from Memphis PD undercover agent [redacted] for activities of [redacted] on 5/2-3-4/69. A portion of this report stated that a meeting called by COBY VERNON SMITH, 2240 Brown Avenue, Memphis, a male Negro student at Southwestern at Memphis and the titular leader of the black militantviolence-prone organization at Memphis known as the Invaders (a characterization of the Invaders is attached to each copy of letter going to outside offices) was held at a place called Paradise Lake located in the east part of Shelby County in

2-New York (RM)
2-Atlanta (RM)
2-Washington Field (RM)
2-Jackson (RM)
14-Memphis
(1 - 157-1067 Invaders)
(1 - 170-70-SUB ME 338-R)
(1 - 157-1632 [redacted]
(1 - 157-2015
(1 - 157-1647
(1- 100-4394 [redacted]
(1 - 157-1258 [redacted]
(1 - 157-1815
(1 - 157-1741
(1 - 157-1803
(1 - 157-957 [redacted]
(1 - 157-1173 [redacted]
(1 - 157-Dead
(1 - 170-1068

WHL:PEH
(22)

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INDEXED

170-70-Sub [redacted]

which Memphis is located. Paradise Lake is reached by going Interstate 40 to Bolivar, Tennessee (Somerville exit), take Highway 64 and go south on Highway 64 to Chambers Road, take Chambers Road to Chapel Road and exit at Paradise Lake. This property is purportedly owned by Memphis white attorney DICK BUSBY and consists of a series of cabins and a small lake. The first meeting was held at 10 A. M., Saturday, May 3, 1969, and among those present were FLOYD PEETE, male Negro and leader in Black Student Association (BSA), Memphis State University (MSU), which has recently engaged in sit-ins in an effort to gain concessions for MSU; ISAAC TAYLOR, a male Negro and BSA member at MSU; POLLY MC LEAN (phonetic), female Negro from New York City picked up at Memphis International Airport by COBY VERNON SMITH on Friday, 5/2/69; SPIVEY "SPIDER" GORDON from Atlanta, Georgia, possibly connected with Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC); RALPH (LNU), a male Negro ostensibly from Jackson, Mississippi; and Memphis Negroes JOHN BURRELL SMITH, one of the founders of the Invaders; OREE MC KENZIE, Invader; WILLIE TAYLOR, star basketball player at LeMoyne-Owen College, Memphis, who has been drafted by the Philadelphia "76ers" as its second choice in the recent National NBA basketball draft; DENNIS WEBB, BSA member and MSU freshman; and COBY VERNON SMITH.

In addition, [redacted] advised that others attending this meeting were LANCE "SWEET WILLIE WINE" WATSON, chairman of Invaders; DENNIS HENDERSON, male Negro student at LeMoyne-Owen College and one of leaders of 11/25-26/68 insurrection at that college; and others from LeMoyne College [redacted] was not present at the conference and received most of his information from LANCE "SWEET WILLIE WINE" WATSON and some from [redacted].

Later [redacted] stated that WATSON had appeared at the conference. According to [redacted] the meeting was basically about organizing the community together and they drafted a 17 point program, and that there was no advocacy of any violence, although some of the persons attending were armed with guns claiming that they brought the guns to the meeting due to the fact that they feared that the Ku Klux Klan or some other white segregation group might, if they learned of their presence, attempt to harass them.

[redacted] stated that JAMES EDWARD MOCK, leader of the current BSA controversy at MSU, did not attend the

meeting but remained in Memphis to tape a program from WMCT television to be presented on 5/4/69 concerning "40% Speaks."

In addition, [redacted] learned that COBY VERNON SMITH's father, EMMETT SMITH, took considerable food to the persons attending the meeting. Another person present according to [redacted] was one ED COLE; that COLE and SPIVEY GORDON are apparently connected with SCLC, both possibly from Atlanta, Georgia, and that they were both purportedly prominent in the SCLC's Resurrection City in Washington, D. C., during the spring and early summer of 1968.

The conference was referred to as a militant sensitivity program conference in which various persons sat around and probed each other's minds and made tentative plans for a summer black community program and it appeared that COBY VERNON SMITH was attempting to figure some way whereby he could get some foundation or group to finance this program.

LEADS:

NEW YORK DIVISION

AT NEW YORK, CITY

Search indices concerning POLLY MC LEAN (phonetic) for any pertinent information.

ATLANTA DIVISION AND WASHINGTON FIELD OFFICE

Search indices concerning ED COLE AND SPIVEY "SPIDER" GORDON and furnish any pertinent information to Memphis.

JACKSON DIVISION

Ascertain if you have any idea as to identity of RALPH (LNU) who purportedly attended the meeting from Jackson.

MEMPHIS DIVISION

AT MEMPHIS, TENNESSEE

Will continue through sources to ascertain details concerning the meeting and to further identify meeting place.

DECLASSIFICATION AUTHORITY DERIVED FROM:
FBI AUTOMATIC DECLASSIFICATION GUIDE
DATE 03-05-2012

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to File No.

Memphis, Tennessee
May 19, 1969

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

RE: INVADERS
(CONNECTIONS WITH INTERRELIGIOUS
FOUNDATION FOR COMMUNITY ORGANIZATIONS)

As early as January 29, 1969, a first source advised that the National Council of Churches held its winter executive board meeting at the Peabody Hotel, Memphis, Tennessee, from the approximate period January 23, through 26, 1969; that during this time a group of young Memphis irresponsible black militants known as the Invaders made contact with certain officials at this conference demanding that the National Council of Churches finance them with as much as $59,000 for a summer program to be administered by Coby Vernon Smith, male Negro, 2240 Brown Avenue, Memphis, Tennessee, and student of Southwestern College, who during recent months, according to source one, has served as the prime adviser and liaison man of the Invaders with the white community.

Source one pointed out that Smith was one of the original founders of the Black Organizing Project of which the Invaders was a subsidiary cell, that for all practical purposes the Black Organizing Project has ceased to exist with the Invaders being the only original cell of the Black Organizing Project still in existence.

(A characterization of the Invaders is attached hereto in the appendix)

Also on January 29, 1969, a second source familiar with many activities of the Invaders advised that since that time there had been some contacts on the part of Coby Smith with (IFCO) known as the Interreligious Foundation For Community Organizations particularly with one Rennie Freeman allegedly of Detroit, Michigan. This source knew nothing further concerning Freeman or IFCO.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
~~GROUP 1~~
~~Excluded from automatic downgrading and declassification~~

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170-70-Sub

FBI-Withers-1584

RE: INVADERS
(CONNECTIONS WITH INTERRELIGIOUS FOUNDATION FOR COMMUNITY ORGANIZATIONS)

As recently as April 17, 1969, source three advised that Melvin Smith, Minister of Defense and Minister of African Culture and History of the Invaders and Shirley Young, a member of the Invaders had commented that Coby Vernon Smith, along with Louis Welch, currently chairman of the Invaders, had somehow received two plane tickets from Memphis to Detroit, Michigan, and had left around 11:00 a.m., April 16, 1969, to go to Detroit, Michigan, to see Rennie Freeman of IFCO.

Later on April 23, 1969, source three advised that on Sunday, April 20, 1969, it had been ascertained with certainty that Coby Vernon Smith and Louis Welch had returned from Detroit, Michigan, where they said they had attempted to obtain money for the local Invaders from IFCO and that they were due to return to Detroit, Michigan, on or about Thursday, April 24, 1969.

Also on April 23, 1969, source three stated that Charles LaVerne Cabbage, one of the original founders of the Invaders, had commented that one E. A. Smith allegedly of IFCO was staying at the Lorraine Motel, 406 Mulberry, Memphis, and that on April 20, 1969, Coby Vernon Smith, Maurice Lewis, who is now in the United States Army and who was recently an active Invader, went to the hotel to see E. A. Smith, asking that IFCO provide the Invaders with $79,000.

Source three pointed out that Charles LaVerne Cabbage of 234 Ingle, is currently free on both Federal and state bonds. He was recently convicted in United States District Court, Memphis on a charge of failure to report for Selective Service induction. The presiding judge has not as yet passed sentence. He is on state bond, appealing a recent conviction in Shelby County Criminal Court, wherein he was convicted of third degree burglary and carrying a pistol.

In the ensuing conversation, Smith indicated that Reverend H. Ralph Jackson, Director of the Minimum Salary Office of the AME Church, with offices at 276 Hernando, Memphis, Tennessee, and Treasurer of a Memphis Ministerial Group, which has supported various black militant causes, known as Community on the Move For Equality (COME), had applied for $79,000 from IFCO and that the money would be granted by IFCO only if it could

FBI-Withers-1585

be equally divided among various Memphis civil rights and black power groups, such as the Black Knights, Inc., a group headquartered in North Memphis, headed by Warren Lewis, primarily aimed at neighborhood community projects, more employment for Negroes and projects of a constructive nature, COME, plus the Invaders.

E. A. Smith at this time gave to Coby Smith a list of names of prominent people connected with IFCO who Coby Smith could feel free to contact in seeking said funds. The list of people are not known to source three. E. A. Smith indicated to Coby Smith that he would probably be in Memphis on an average of once a month during the next few months although he did not elaborate in this regard.

Again, on April 24, 1969, source three advised that Coby Vernon Smith had called by long distance Rennie Freeman of IFCO in Detroit, that Freeman was not in; that Coby Smith talked with his alleged secretary, who indicated that plane tickets had been mailed to Smith for a forthcoming trip by him to Detroit. Coby indicated that IFCO has been having people come into the Detroit, Michigan, area, nearly every weekend from various black power groups throughout the United States.

As recently as May 3, 1969, source three advised that to the best of his knowledge, Coby Vernon Smith did make a trip to Detroit, Michigan, and was in all probability accompanied by Louis Welch.

Source three advised that Coby Smith has said nothing further concerning this trip and it is not known if he received any money or any specific promises of any money from IFCO.

Source three conjectured that the meeting which Coby Smith and possibly Louis Welch attended was in all probability the meeting of the National Black Economic Development Conference at Detroit's Wayne State University, described in

RE: INVADERS
(CONNECTIONS WITH INTERRELIGIOUS FOUNDATION FOR COMMUNITY ORGANIZATIONS)

Jet magazine issue May 15, 1969, page 20, which had been called by IFCO for the purpose of rallying more church-related organizations around the growing concept of community development. This article of Jet indicated that the session ended in a frustrating debate over who should control the ghetto economy in the future - black capitalists or mixed socialism; that the Reverend Lucious Walker, Jr., IFCO Executive Director, had explained that the meeting was called "To bring black persons together to develop economic concepts that reach beyond the current fad of black capitalism and envelop to total community ---" The article continued that the rhetoric Black Militants obscured the results of hardworking delegates most of whom represented black-controlled church foundations and governmental agencies and that as a result the black militants came forth with a manifesto demanding $500,000,000 in "reparations from racist christian churches and Jewish synagogues" and that the manifesto was read by James Forman and his supporters. Forman, according to source three is the former First Executive Secretary of the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), a characterization of which is attached hereto.

The Jet article continued that in taking control of the meeting Forman, referred to as the former SNCC boss, demanded and got the delegates' endorsement to appoint the original IFCO steering committee to carry out the "revolutionary" manifesto. This article pointed out that the religious reparation fund called for in the manifesto would be used to set up land banks in the South, communication centers in major urban areas and to establish national cooperatives. The article pointed out that Forman told his screaming followers "We will begin the revolution --- by marching on the churches and holding them until the reparation is paid." "Let's not get hung up on the white man's parliamentary democracy --- All the dissenters leave."

The "National Observer," weekly newspaper published in Washington, D. C., page 3, issue May 10, 1969, pointed out that on the previous Sunday, James Forman had disrupted services at Riverside Church in New York, New York, by attempting to read the

RE: INVADERS
(CONNECTIONS WITH INTERRELIGIOUS FOUNDATION FOR COMMUNITY ORGANIZATIONS)

manifesto before the 1,500 church attendees during said service.

The article pointed out that after Forman left Reverend Ernest Campbell, the church's preaching minister, commented that "The principal of reparation has sound theological underpinnings. Most christian churches in the United States feel penitent about what the white man has done to the black man in this society. Restitution is an integral part of penitence." It stated, however, that he criticized the manifesto as weak because it resorted to a "Good guy, bad guy motif." He added "The christian churches in this country have too long been concerned with private religious experience to the neglect of basic justice. Pay day has come. What the price should be and how and to whom it should be paid are questions properly before the house." This article indicated that the national headquarters of IFCO were located across the street from the Riverside Church and described IFCO as an agency funded by community-help organizations and by the social-action arms of several denominations, which had channeled one million three hundred thousand dollars to community projects in two years and that IFCO was under fire in Los Angeles for its aid to groups accused of militant activities.

As recently as May 15, 1969, sources one, two and three advised that to date there has been no indication that the Invaders or any other groups or individuals in Memphis, Tennessee, had made any effort to implement the demands outlined hereinbefore as originally propounded by James Forman at the Detroit meeting. Sources one, two and three also added that in their opinion Coby Vernon Smith is a con man and while he is most militant to the point of being obscenly offensive and violence prone in many of his statements, that primarily he is interested in his own self interest, feeding not only his ego, but enhancing his material wealth and that they feel he is attempting to bulldoze some foundation or group into granting a lot of money to the Invaders, which he Coby Smith hopes to convert to his own use if humanly possible.

STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE

The Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), headquartered at 360-362 Nelson Street, S. N., Atlanta, Georgia, is a nonmembership organization, which was born out of the sit-in movement that erupted across the South beginning in 1960.

Today SNCC identifies itself as an organization in the revolutionary vanguard. It advocates that to be successful it is necessary to develop a revolutionary ideology and revolutionary program.

According to SNCC the year 1967 marked a historic milestone in the struggle for the liberation of black people in the United States and the year that revolutionaries throughout the world began to understand more fully the impact of the black movement. SNCC declared that "liberation will come only when there is final destruction of this mad octopus--the capitalistic system of the United States with all its life-sucking tentacles of exploitation and racism that choke the people of Africa, Asia, and Latin America. The realities of black life, together with the recognition instilled in SNCC workers forced its members to further popularize the legitimacy of self-defense and rebellions when oppression became too great."

From May, 1966, until May, 1967, Stokely Carmichael was National Chairman of SNCC. As of July, 1968, Carmichael resided in Washington, D. C., where he was affiliated with SNCC and active as temporary chairman of a black coalition group. In May, 1967, Carmichael was replaced by Hubert Gerold Brown, commonly known as H. Rap Brown, who served until June, 1968.

In June, 1968, at the Staff and Central Committee meeting of SNCC held in Atlanta, Georgia, it was decided to restructure the organization by equalization of responsibility by creating ten deputy or vice chairmanships. The primary purpose for this change is to take law enforcement pressure off any single individual.

FBI-Withers-1589

DECLASSIFICATION AUTHORITY DERIVED FROM:
FBI AUTOMATIC DECLASSIFICATION GUIDE
DATE 06-06-2011

FD-36 (Rev. 12-13-56)

FBI

Date: 5/19/69

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plain text or code)

Via Airtel _____
(Priority or Method of Mailing)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (157-8460)

FROM: SAC, MEMPHIS (157-1067) (P)

SUBJECT: INVADERS
(CONNECTIONS WITH INTERRELIGIOUS FOUNDATION
FOR COMMUNITY ORGANIZATIONS)

Re Bureau airtel 5/15/69.

Enclosed herewith for the Bureau are 11 copies of LHM captioned as above. Copies are being disseminated to regional offices Military Intelligence and to U. S. Secret Service, Memphis.

Source One is [redacted]
Source Two is Memphis PD Patrolman MARRELL MC COLLOUGH, who from February, 1968, until end of March, 1969, was an undercover operative in Invaders under PD code [redacted]
Source Three is [redacted]

Enclosed LHM classified ~~confidential~~ as it contains information from racial informants and sources of continuing value.

2 - Bureau (Encs. 11) (RM)
2 - Detroit (Enc. 2) (RM)
2 - New York (Enc. 2) (RM)
5 - Memphis (1-157-1067)
(1 - 157-2018) (IFCO)
(1 - 100-4394) [redacted]
(1 - 157-1564)
(1 - 170-70-Sub) [redacted]

170-70-Sub [redacted]

WHL:tjm
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FBI-Withers-1590

Approved: _____ Sent _____ M Per _____
Special Agent in Charge

LEADS:

DETROIT AND NEW YORK DIVISIONS

Will furnish any characterization re IFCO.

The Detroit Division will furnish any information concerning possible trips of COBY VERNON SMITH and LOUIS WELCH to Detroit. Detroit please note that in cases entitled COBY VERNON SMITH and LOUIS WELCH - Detroit has previously been furnished photographs and physical descriptions re their possible trips to Detroit.

MEMPHIS

AT MEMPHIS, TENNESSEE.

Will be alert for any IFCO or related activity.

FBI-Withers-1591

DECLASSIFICATION AUTHORITY DERIVED FROM:
THE WITHERS DECLASSIFICATION GUIDE
DATE [illegible]

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

In Reply, Please Refer to File No.

Memphis, Tennessee
June 6, 1969

Re: INVADERS
RACIAL MATTERS

Following is a summary of recent activities involving the Invaders, a Memphis, Tennessee, youthful black power group with headquarters at 271 Vance Avenue, Memphis, Tennessee:

(A characterization of the Invaders is set forth in the Appendix Section.)

On June 2, 1969, Lieutenant E. H. Arkin, Intelligence Bureau, Memphis, Tennessee, Police Department, and a first source both advised that they had learned that Coby Vernon Smith, male Negro, 2240 Brown, Memphis, who in recent months has been the spokesman and adviser and publicity agent for the Invaders, held a party at his home, 2240 Brown, in the garage apartment at the rear thereof. During the course of the party, Robert Leon Worsham, Jr., recently a Memphis State University (MSU) student, a male Negro, who resides at 1500 Davis Street, "made a play" for Coby Smith's girl friend, Polly McLean (phonetic), and as a result Worsham was thrown out of the party. At approximately 1:40 a.m., June 1, 1969, shortly after being thrown out of the party, Worsham returned to Coby Vernon Smith's home and shot Smith with a .22 caliber pistol, the bullet striking Smith in the upper part of his right leg resulting in a slight flesh wound. Robert Leon Worsham, Jr., was arraigned in City Court on June 2, 1969, Division II, the court of Judge Bernie Weinman. He was held to the state on a not-guilty plea, bond was set at $1500.00, and Worsham was represented in court by Attorney Phillip Kaminsky.

170-70 [redacted]
(See page 1a)

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
~~GROUP 1~~
~~Excluded from automatic downgrading and declassification~~

STRIALIZED [illegible]
INDEXED [illegible]
FILED [illegible]
170-70-Sub [redacted]

INVADERS

[redacted] Polly McLean (phonetic), girl friend of Coby Vernon Smith, is a female Negro, age 22, and her address is listed as 245 Hawthorne Street, Brooklyn, New York. She has claimed to be employed with a theatrical group called the "Children's Theatre Group," address 35 East 75th Street, New York, New York.

Both Lieutenant Arkin and source one advised that they understood through reliable sources that Coby Vernon Smith, despite his leg injury, was able to graduate from Southwestern College at Memphis on June 1, 1969.

On June 4, 1969, Lieutenant Arkin advised that John Charles Smith, male Negro, date of birth October 12, 1948, FBI Number 584 632 F, who claims residence at 2430 Vollentine Street, Memphis, in care of his mother, Mrs. John Borders, is being sought on a warrant issued by the Memphis Police Department charging him with attempted homicide, the details of which are as follows:

At approximately 1:36 a.m., June 4, 1969, one Freddie Pruitt, a male Negro, age 20, claiming legal residence 865 South Fourth Street, Apartment 25, Memphis, Tennessee, was found lying on his back on the sidewalk just north of 248 Linden. Various witnesses stated that shortly prior thereto he had been shot by a male Negro, being shot in the back, and that a female companion when she attempted to run into Walker's Lounge, 271 Hernando, had been shot by the same assailant in both legs.

Lieutenant Arkin advised that records of the Memphis, Tennessee, Police Department revealed that a report of Officer R. C. Edwards revealed that Edwards, along with Lieutenant J. M. Prescott, proceeded to John Gaston Hospital where they interviewed the female victim, Rosetta Webb, who claims she resides on the third floor over Walker's Lounge located at 271 Hernando which is just around the corner from 248 Linden. The report revealed that she, along with her boy friend, Freddie Pruitt, had about ten minutes before the shooting left the Harlem House on Hernando; walked toward Linden where they stopped to talk to a friend of hers known as "Stuff" who was later identified as Ernestine Johnson, a female Negro; that she began kidding with Johnson regarding some

money; that Johnson began pulling on her clothes, talking in a loud voice; and that Rosetta's boy friend, Freddie Pruitt, tried to break up the argument which resulted in Johnson striking Freddie. An individual known to her as John C. Smith, later identified by her as John Charles Smith, FBI Number 584 632 F, last known to reside at 2430 Vollentine, pulled a pistol from his blue jeans pants pocket underneath a dashiki shirt and shot Freddie Pruitt in the back. She told Smith and Johnson that she was going to call the police and she ran across Hernando toward Linden. As she crossed Linden, she heard four shots being fired at her, all of the shots missing her. She then ran to Walker's Lounge located at 271 Hernando, started to run up the steps, and through a glass door, when Smith fired through the glass door striking her in one leg, the bullet penetrating into the other leg.

Lieutenant Arkin advised that Rosetta Webb's condition is not serious; that the condition of Freddie Pruitt is quite serious; and that he is in the Intensive Care Ward at John Gaston Hospital, Memphis, Tennessee.

On June 4, 1969, sources one and two both advised that during recent months Rosetta Webb has been considered by them to be a member of the Invaders and that she spends much of her time in the Invaders Headquarters, 271 Vance Avenue, and in association with various Invaders in the city of Memphis. They advised that Freddie Pruitt and Ernestine Johnson are not known to them to have any formal connection with the Invaders.

On June 4 and again on June 5, 1969, Lieutenant Arkin advised that John C. Smith is currently in a fugitive status and has not been located.

Lieutenant Arkin pointed out that John C. Smith recently had the title of Assistant to the Minister of Defense of the Invaders but that in reality this was a title in name only. He advised that Smith is currently on parole from the State of California where he was charged on or about April 23, 1965, with Assault With a Deadly Weapon and that he had in anger fired at a theater manager through the theater door and hit a customer in the buttocks, using a hand gun as the assault weapon.

INVADERS

Lieutenant Arkin further advised that John C. Smith was recently arrested in Memphis, Tennessee, on a charge of issuing fraudulent payroll checks drawn on a fictitious television company in Memphis and is currently free on bond on this charge.

On June 5, 1969, Lieutenant Arkin advised that, according to Police Department records, at approximately 4:40 a.m., June 5, 1969, Police Department Officers R. W. Sojourner and W. R. Rutherford while cruising in the vicinity of Vance and Hernando found on the north side of Vance at Hernando a group of Negroes crowded around a male Negro and heard some of the crowd yell that the one male Negro had just been stabbed. This male Negro was found bleeding from the right chest and right cheek. Two female Negroes, namely Joyce Smith, age 20, of 841 Saxon, and Mary Helen or Mary Ellen (last name unknown), according to officers, had gotten into a fight inside the Twilight Zone Lounge at 299 Vance. Joyce Smith was located and stated that this was true. Joyce Smith also stated when the fight at the Twilight Zone Lounge, which occurred shortly before the stabbing, broke up, she and Mary Helen left and went to 271 Vance, the headquarters of the Invaders, and that a few minutes later one Otis Parnell (identified by sources one and two as an Invader) told her that Lance Watson had been stabbed by a female Negro, Mary Helen or Mary Ellen (last name unknown). The officers thereafter determined that the stabbing victim was Lance "Sweet Willie Wine" Watson (Memphis Police Department No. 64208, FBI Number 209 402 D), date of birth February 3, 1938, at Memphis, Tennessee, a male Negro, who lists his legal address as 333 Webster, Memphis, Tennessee. The officers proceeded to John Gaston Hospital where Watson was taken. He told them that he had broken up a fight between the two female Negroes, Joyce Smith and Mary Helen or Mary Ellen, and that when he turned around Mary Helen or Mary Ellen stabbed him in the right chest with a broken beer bottle and stabbed him a second time on the right cheek. He stated that when he ran to an oncoming car to seek assistance, she hit him on the head with the bottle. He stated that he did not want to prosecute this individual.

INVADERS

Lieutenant Arkin stated that he had determined from officials at the John Gaston Hospital that Watson's condition was not serious and that as of the afternoon of June 5, 1969, he was in the Intensive Care Ward of John Gaston Hospital as a precautionary measure. The chest wound had not been sufficient to penetrate his lung and the wound was somewhat superficial as was the wound on his cheek.

On June 2 and 3, 1969, sources one and two advised that the Invaders are in a state of confusion; that they have no finances; that they are remaining at 271 Vance Street, a store front, on a day-by-day basis, being some two months in arrears with their rent; that there is no real leadership; and that Lance "Sweet Willie Wino" Watson has apparently become somewhat disenchanted with his position of Chairman of the Invaders and recently has been spending most of his time in an effort to make some money by taking orders for dashikis, an Afro-type shirt, which are being handmade by a group of Negro women at 241 Linden. They stated further that Lance Watson and another Invader, Johnnie Lee Frierson, former Memphis State University (MSU) student, had written the lyrics to a song "I Have Got A Feeling," recorded by the Stax Recording Company, Memphis, Tennessee, by one "Ollie and the Nightingales," a singing group.

Lieutenant Arkin, on June 4, 1969, advised that the dashiki shop at 241 Linden is listed in the name of the Carodine Furniture Distributing Company and that according to records of the Memphis Light, Gas and Water Division, Memphis, Tennessee, the utilities at 241 Linden are in the name of the Carodine Furniture Distributing Company. Lieutenant Arkin advised that a confidential source of the Memphis Police Department advised that other services at this company list a phone under Number 527-2998 and that records of the City Tax Office, Memphis, revealed that 241 Linden is listed under the name I. E. or Jeanette Andreuccetti of 1849 East Brooks, Memphis, Tennessee.

INVADERS

The 1968 Memphis City Directory reveals that Alonzo Carodine lives at 220 Linden Avenue and a Carodine Furniture Distributing Company is listed at 199 Linden. Alonzo's wife is listed as Grace; his daughter is listed as Yvonne, a student, 220 Linden.

On June 4, 1969, the first source advised that Yvonne Carodine married one Richard Bonhart, male Negro, age 24, and that they did recently live at 1975 Tampa Cove. Richard Bonhart has recently attended Memphis State University and is currently employed as a Reporter for the "Memphis Commercial Appeal," a daily newspaper at Memphis, Tennessee. The source advised that Richard Bonhart has been a member of the Black Student Association (BSA), a small but militant black group at Memphis State University, which engaged in sit-ins in the Office of the Memphis State University President on April 23 and April 28, 1969, resulting in some 105 arrests on the latter date, during which the participants in the sit-in were charged with Trespassing on School Property, a state charge, and they have been indicted by the Shelby County Grand Jury but the trials have not as yet been set. The same source advised that Bonhart has been associating in the dashiki shop at 241 Linden Avenue with two other BSA members and MSU students, Isaac Taylor and Floyd Peete.

Source two confirmed this information adding that Isaac Taylor has allegedly told Lance "Sweet Willie Wine" Watson that he will pay him a 10 per cent commission on any dashikis which Watson is able to sell.

Lieutenant Arkin advised that the Johnnie Lee Frierson, with whom Watson has been engaged in the writing of songs, is the same Johnnie Lee Frierson currently under indictment, having been charged a few months ago with the severe physical assault on the MSU campus of a white male student, during which Frierson severely injured the student in the face, resulting in plastic surgery and bone surgery being performed on the victim.

INVADERS

On June 1, 1969, the first source advised that on May 31, 1969, Melvin Smith, Minister of African Culture and History of the Invaders, was walking around the downtown area of Memphis with four male Negroes whom he identified as being from Chicago, Illinois, and being connected with the Black Panther Party in Chicago. Melvin Smith had quite a discussion with this group regarding the problem of organizing black militants in Memphis, indicating that there was a lack of organization and a lack of unity, and one Reverend Henry Logan Starks, male Negro, pastor of St. James AME Church, told this group of alleged Black Panthers that the Black Panthers were not wanted in Memphis, Tennessee, by the mass of the Negro race.

(A characterization of the Black Panther Party is set forth in the Appendix Section.)

This group was not known to be traveling by automobile. All of these so-called Black Panthers appeared to be in their twenties; one was extremely tall, about 6 feet 4 inches, weighing approximately 190 to 200 pounds, with medium brown complexion, full beard and goatee, black hair worn in a high Afro hairdo, dressed in a green dashiki and black bell-bottom trousers, and could have been 30 years of age or possibly older. This individual wore dark glasses. A second individual was described as a male Negro in his middle twenties, about 5 feet 10 inches tall, weighing 160 to 170 pounds, with dark complexion, small goatee on his chin and a mustache, wearing his hair in a very long Afro hairdo, and wearing a blue jeans suit, jacket and pants. A third member was described as male Negro, about 24 or 25 years of age, 6 feet tall, weighing 180 pounds, with dark complexion, clean shaven but having a mustache, with medium-length Afro hairdo, wearing a blue jeans suit over which he wore a dashiki. The fourth member appeared to be somewhat younger, possibly 21 to 23, 5 feet 11 inches in height, weighing 200 pounds, with light brown skin, short Afro hairdo, mustache with a Van Dyke type beard, wearing a black shirt and pants.

INVADERS

One of the so-called Black Panthers indicated that the group would leave Memphis on June 1, 1969, and they were merely looking over the town with regard to the possibility of organizing in Memphis.

Source one stated that he had no specific proof that this group actually was members of the Black Panther Party.

This information was corroborated on June 2, 1969, by a second source who advised that the above four individuals were first seen in Memphis as early as May 30, 1969, according to information furnished by Lance "Sweet Willie Wine" Watson, who claimed that this group had pulled their guns and shot at a police helicopter but that Wine told them to stop because the police might put him back in jail.

(Lieutenant Arkin has advised that he has been able to make no determination that anyone has recently shot at a police helicopter.)

The second source advised that on the evening of May 31, 1969, the above four described alleged Black Panthers were in contact with some of the Invaders. The largest individual of the four indicated that the group would leave town on June 1, 1969, and might return to Memphis at a later date. They left the Invaders headquarters on foot and according to source two have not been seen since.

Source two similarly pointed out that he has no specific proof that this group were members of the Black Panther Party, pointing out that many visiting Negroes in an effort to impress individuals will claim that they are with some nationally known black power group.

Also on June 2, 1969, source one advised that on that date a white prostitute, name not known, who works the downtown Beale Street-Hernando-Vance-Linden black neighborhood, appeared in the area with a patch over her eye, claiming that a group of young Invaders physically assaulted her and "worked her over,"

apparently not wanting her in their area.

On June 3, 1969, [redacted] advised that he had been reliably informed by some of the Invaders that some of them had in fact severely whipped this unknown white prostitute.

On June 6, 1969, Lieutenant E. H. Arkin advised that on the afternoon of June 5, 1969, a male Negro known as T. C. Jones, 256 Pauline, also known as T. Winfred James, 256 Pauline, but who gave the police his address as 271 Vance, which is the address of the Invaders Headquarters, was walking a German shepard dog on Vance near the Invaders headquarters at about 3:20 p.m. and as a Mrs. Ruth Washington, female Negro, of 267 Pontotoc came along with her 4-year-old son, Danny Washington, the big dog suddenly jumped at Danny, bit him on both legs, and Mrs. Washington had to "beat the dog off." Danny Washington has been treated for the dog bites at the John Gaston Hospital, Memphis. Lieutenant Arkin stated that Negro witnesses to the incident stated that Jones or James made no effort to restrain the dog; that in the confusion following the biting incident the dog disappeared; and that a Negro male who witnessed the incident proceeded to soundly thrash Jones or James because the dog attacked the boy while he stood idly by. Lieutenant Arkin stated that James is currently being held in Memphis City Jail without charges and that he admits knowing the dog's whereabouts but will not tell the police, despite the fact that the Police Department officials have explained to the arrestee that if the dog is not located and quarantined for ten days to determine the presence or nonpresence of rabies that the victim, Danny Washington, will have to undergo a series of painful rabies shots.

James told the police, "If you want to find out where the dog is, go to 271 Vance."

INVADERS

On June 6, 1969, sources one and two advised that the dog in question has been hanging around the Invaders Headquarters; that it is a German shepard, mangy, not being properly fed or cared for; and that as recently as the night of June 3, 1969, Lance "Sweet Willie Wine" Watson had the dog with him in downtown Memphis.

Both sources one and two identified T. C. Jones, also known as James, as being an Invader, who only recently became affiliated with the group.

BLACK PANTHER PARTY

According to its official newspaper, the Black Panther Party (BPP) was started during December, 1966, in Oakland, California, to organize black people so they can take control of the life, politics, and the destiny of the black community. It was organized by Bobby George Seale, BPP Chairman, and Huey P. Newton, BPP Minister of Defense. Newton is presently serving a sentence of 2 to 15 years on a conviction of manslaughter in connection with the killing of an Oakland police officer.

The official newspaper, "The Black Panther," which further describes itself as the "Black Community News Service," states that the BPP advocates the use of guns and guerrilla tactics in its revolutionary program to end oppression of the black people. Residents of the black community are urged to arm themselves against the police who are consistently referred to in the publication as "pigs" who should be killed.

"The Black Panther" issue of September 7, 1968, contains an editorial by BPP Minister of Education, George Mason Murray, which ends with the following:

"Black men. Black people, colored persons of America, revolt everywhere! Arm yourselves. The only culture worth keeping is a revolutionary culture. Change. Freedom everywhere. Dynamite! Black Power. Use the gun. Kill the pigs everywhere."

Included in the introduction to an article appearing in the October 5, 1968, edition of "The Black Panther" is the statement. "...we will not dissent from American Government. We will overthrow it."

Issues of "The Black Panther" regularly contain quotations from the writings of Chairman MAO Tse-tung of the People's Republic of China and feature MAO's statement that "political power grows out of the barrel of a gun."

The national headquarters of the BPP is located at 3106 Shattuck Avenue, Berkeley, California. Branches have been established at various locations throughout the United States.

public schools. Over 25 have been convicted for these offenses, most of them making bond and appealing convictions. For example, John Burrell Smith has been convicted of inciting a high school riot and possession of marijuana. Charles Laverne Cabbage has been convicted of carrying a pistol, third degree burglary, and refusal to report for Armed Forces induction.

Both sources added that these arrests and the attendant publicity have weakened the influence of the Invaders and caused them to be less vocal and less publicly contentious. Their membership is estimated at forty with only about twenty hard-core members. The Invaders have no financial resources of consequence which further restricts their activities. Sources one and two added that the Invaders primarily engage in psychological warfare by attempting to convince the community that they are far more powerful and potentially violent than is actually the case. Sources one and two advised that on occasion the Invaders refer to their group as the BOP but actually the only active cell is the Invaders.

APPENDIX

INVADERS

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

DECLASSIFICATION AUTHORITY DERIVED FROM:
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DATE: 08-26-2012

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to File No.

Memphis, Tennessee

June 6, 1969

Title: [redacted]

Character: RACIAL MATTERS

Reference: Memorandum dated and captioned as above prepared at Memphis, Tennessee

All sources (except any listed below) whose identities are concealed in referenced communication have furnished reliable information in the past.

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

DECLASSIFICATION AUTHORITY DERIVED FROM:
FBI AUTOMATIC DECLASSIFICATION GUIDE
DATE 22-06-2012

FBI

Date: 6/6/69

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plain text or code)

Via AIRTEL _____
(Priority or Method of Mailing)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (157-8460)

FROM: SAC, MEMPHIS (157-1067) (P)

INVADERS, aka.
RM

Enclosed herewith for the Bureau are 11 copies of LHM dated and captioned as above.

Copies of the enclosed LHM are being furnished to the United States Attorney and U. S. Secret Service, both at Memphis, and to Regional Offices of Military Intelligence.

Source one is [redacted]
Source two is [redacted]

The enclosed LHM is classified ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ due to the necessity of protecting informants of continuing value to the protection of the security of the United States.

2 - Bureau (Encs.11)(RM)
3 - Chicago (Encs.3)(RM)
(1 - 157-Invaders)
(2 - 157-Black Panthers)
1 - San Francisco (Enc.1)(Info)(RM)
2 - New York (Encs.2)(RM)
10 - Memphis
(1 - 157-1067)
(1 - 157-556, Possible Racial Violence, Major Urban Areas)
(1 - 157-1168, Racial Situation in Tennessee)
(1 - 100-4394, [redacted]
(1 - 157-1626,
(1 - 157-1820,
(1 - 157-1205,
(1 - 170-70 Sub WF 338-R)
(1 - 157-NEW, [redacted]
(1 - 66-1687 Sub A, Dissemination)

WHL:gmh
(18)

170-70-Sub

Approved: _____ Sent _____ M Per _____
Special Agent in Charge

LEADS:

CHICAGO DIVISION

AT CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

Chicago is requested to identify the four visitors to Memphis and to furnish any identifying data.

SAN FRANCISCO DIVISION (INFORMATION)

Information copy is being furnished San Francisco since it is origin in the case re the Black Panthers.

NEW YORK DIVISION

AT NEW YORK, NEW YORK

Will identify POLLY MC LEONARD, Negro female, 245 Hawthorne Street, Brooklyn, New York, and the Children's Theatre Group, 35 East 75th Street, New York, N. Y.

FBI-Withers-1193

DECLASSIFICATION AUTHORITY DERIVED FROM
FBI AUTOMATIC DECLASSIFICATION GUIDE
DATE 03-07-2011

OPTIONAL FORM NO. 10
MAY 1962 EDITION
GSA GEN. REG. NO. 27

5010-106

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : SAC (157-1067) DATE: 6/13/69

FROM : SA WILLIAM H. LAWRENCE

SUBJECT: INVADERS

On 6/6/69 [redacted] advised SA WILLIAM H. LAWRENCE as follows:

Local 1733, AFSCME, which threatens to strike all city facilities beginning 7/1/69, held a press conference at AME Minimum Salary Building, 276 Hernando, on the morning of 6/6/69. JESSE EPPS, Assistant to President of the Union, JERRY WORF, had a press conference. WILL D. CAMPBELL of Nashville, Board member, Tennessee Council on Human Relations, discussed the Methodist Hospital situation, wherein 25 young blacks quit after one black girl had recently been fired for going to a wedding without an advance excused absence. CAMPBELL and TCHR Executive Director BAXTON BRYANT popped off, indicating they are helping Local 1733, which has also tried to intercede in the Methodist Hospital situation. EPPS wants to picket East Memphis stores, Saturday, 6/7/69.

LANCE WATSON IN HOSPITAL

LANCE "Sweet Willie Wine" WATSON is in John Gaston Hospital. He was cut in the chest and face on the early morning of 6/5/69 by one or two female Negro prostitutes in the Vance-Hernando area by a broken beer bottle. Circumstances of the fight are not known.

1-157-1067
1-170-70-Sub - ME 338-R
1-157-656 - Possible Racial Violence Major Urban Areas
1-157-1576 - AFSCME
1-157- - [redacted]
1-157-1675 -
1-157-1626 -
1-157-1173 -
1-157-1629 -
1-157-2012 -
1-170-1164 -
1-100-4528 -
1-66-1687-Sub - Dissemination
WHL:wp
(13)

170-70-Sub [redacted]
SEARCHED ... INDEXED ...
SERIALIZED ... FILED ...
JUN 17 1969
FBI — MEMPHIS

JOHN CHARLES SMITH IN FUGITIVE STATUS

"Big John" (JOHN CHARLES SMITH) is being sought by police after shooting one FREDDIE PRUITT in the back and shooting Invader ROSETTA WEBB in both legs 6/4/69 (reliable). Vance Avenue sources say that JOHN CHARLES SMITH was with a notorious Beale Street prostitute, ERNESTINE "Stuff" JOHNSON, at the time of the altercation.

It will be recalled that in the spring of 1969 Beale Street dope peddler "JIGGS" was running with ERNESTINE JOHNSON and was staying with her at 87 East McKellar Street, a rooming house. ERNESTINE JOHNSON was raised in Walker Homes Subdivision and [redacted] in the Beale Street area. OREE McKENZIE, one of the original Invaders and now out on bond, said on 6/5/69 that JOHN CHARLES SMITH will probably run and leave town. He may go back to the Los Angeles, California, area where he used to live. OREE loafs at the Log Cabin Cafe, 236 South Parkway West.

JOHN CHARLES SMITH has recently been running with a lot of the Beale-Hernando prostitutes. He had reportedly made some remarks that he was "tired of some of the things going on in the area." He apparently got into an argument with ROSETTA WEBB and PRUITT.

ERNESTINE JOHNSON has two young children.

Also on 6/6/69 [redacted] advised that EPPS has a conference set up Friday, 6/6/69, at 11:00 a.m., with DAVID COOLEY, Executive Director, Memphis Chamber of Commerce, to discuss the impending strike and Local 1733 demands for more pay for its workers. EPPS has said he will intensify Local 1733 economic pressure on white businessmen in an effort to induce them to bring more pressure on city officials to grant the demanded union concessions. Local 1733 wants to concentrate on the Chisca Hotel and Chisca Plaza, operated by Memphis City Councilman TOM TODD.

[redacted] also talked with Shelby County Commissioner LEE LYDEN, who is in charge of Shelby County Penal Farm. HYDEN has been talking to CHARLES L. CABBAGE, who has definitely been "conning" HYDEN by putting on a persecuted martyred complex. He has HYDEN believing he was jailed because of his advocacy of civil rights for blacks, etc. She said HYDEN is a "bleeding heart."

FBI-Withers-1593

OPTIONAL FORM NO. 10
MAY 1962 EDITION
GSA GEN. REG. NO. 27

5010-108

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : SAC (157-1067) DATE: 7/2/69

FROM : SA WILLIAM H. LAWRENCE

SUBJECT: INVADERS
RM

RE: BLACK ARCADE

The Dashiki Shop, "Black Arcade," 241 Linden, "fronted" by LANCE "SWEET WILLIE WINE" WATSON, Chairman of the Invaders, and managed by BILLY CARODINE, brother or uncle of YVONNE BONHART, wife of RICHARD BONHART, and by Memphis State University (MSU) law student ISAAC TAYLOR, has moved from 241 Linden to 300 E. McLemore.

RE: RONALD LOUIS IVY

On or about 6/24/69 ISAAC TAYLOR commented that MSU graduate (May, 1968) and former Black Student Association (BSA) leader RONALD LOUIS IVY, is opening a "store front," "movement," and "black art" shop around 883 or 887 Porter, which he inferred will be connected with the Black Arcade. He did not elaborate.

1 - 157-1067
1 - 170-70-Sub (ME 338-R)
1 - 157-1815 (BSA)
1 - 157- (Black Arcade)
1 - 157-1803
1 - 157-1230
1 - 157-1258
1 - 157-1563
1 - 157-2091 (Committee for Peaceful Co-Existence, Forrest City, Ark.)
1 - 157-
1 - 157-2073
1 - 157-2092
1 - 170-New
1 - 157-276 (Liaison with Groups Sponsoring Integration)
1 - 157-1277
1 - 157-1804
1 - 157-1069
1 - 66-1687-Sub (Dissemination)
1 - 157-1472
WHL:mnr
(19)

170-70-Sub

SEARCHED ____ INDEXED ____
SERIALIZED ____ FILED ____
JUL 7 1969
FBI — MEMPHIS

RE: COMMITTEE FOR PEACEFUL CO-EXISTENCE
FORREST CITY, ARK.

For about the past ten days such Invaders as EDDIE MORRIS, JR., aka TATE, RAYMOND LEE, JOE LEE BURNS, JR., aka KING JEWELL, ROBERT MYLES, aka MILES, VERMELLE "GAMALA" JONES, and Invader Chairman LANCE "SWEET WILLIE WINE" WATSON have been in Forrest City, Ark., helping Rev. CATO BROOKS and Rev. JAMES F. COOLEY with captioned movement to bring pressure on the white community to grant concessions fro the blacks. They are merely there for excitement, thrills, and to serve as a glorified "black mafia" to scare the local white power structure.

On 6/26/69 ROBERT MYLES was in Memphis saying he was "here to pick up some stuff for WATSON" but did not elaborate. He was, however, trying to get up $15 with which to get his car out of a repair shop. He claims to live on North Fifth St.

RE: CACHEATUH SMITH

CACHEATUH, the Invader secretary and paramour of LANCE WATSON, is back living with her mother and grandmother. Her baby, fathered by WATSON, is about due. She is disillusioned with WATSON but will stick with him. She recently said she realized he has, in the past, sired a lot of youngsters and never taken care of them and she realizes he has recently been running around with "Beale St." prostitutes.

She said WATSON, as a money raising gimmick, was to have on Saturday, 6/28/69, a black art festival in Handy Park selling raffle tickets at $.50 each. She stated that WATSON would probably still be in Forrest City, Ark., that she had issued a lot of tickets but as she had no control over them she was worried. She said they would try to get VERMELLE "GAMALA" JONES, former paramour of ANTRAIBN SHADAD (ANTHONY WAYNE BAILEY) to help and would try to get help from the Black Arcade.

CACHEATUH is badly confused, has been corrupted and demoralized by WATSON.

RE: MELVIN SMITH "CONNING" CATHOLIC CHURCH

MELVIN SMITH, Minister of African Culture, Invaders, is an inveterate bum, will not work, mooches all over Beale St., Hernando, South Fourth, and Linden area. He hangs out at St. Patrick's Catholic Church, run by Paulist priests WILLIAM GREENSPUN and Father MARTIN. He claims they are backing him in a project sponsored by the Catholics whereby he will counsel releasees from Tennessee State Boys Reformatory at Pikeville, Tenn.

RE: MELVIN SMITH AND EMMETT HOUSE ARGUE WITH LEONARD SMALL

On 6/25/69 MELVIN SMITH and EMMETT HOUSE, recently an Invader and now a dope head, a Beale St. "hanger-on", had a bitter argument with LEONARD SMALL, male Negro, former personnel officer at the State of Tennessee in Memphis and now with National Negro Business League, 588 Vance and a solid citizen.

MELVIN was attacking the United States policy in Vietnam and praising the North Vietnamese and advocating a black violent revolution in the United States as outlined and called for by the late black revolutionist MALCOM X. He defended the right of blacks to steal, rape, engage in dope, and law violations in retaliation against the white power structure. He attacked the family structure in the United States as a "tool of capitalism." EMMETT HOUSE echoed his remarks.

LEONARD SMALL bitterly attacked SMITH and HOUSE, defended the United States system and spoke against revolution, thoroughly excoriated both of them as lazy incompetents who were moochers on society and a cancer on the black race. The argument became most heated.

MELVIN bragged that United States troops are deserting at a rate of 10 a day to the Communist North Vietnamese.

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DATE: 03 07 2012

OPTIONAL FORM NO. 10
MAY 1962 EDITION
GSA GEN. REG. NO. 27
5010-108

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : SAC (157-1067) DATE: 7/3/69

FROM : SA WILLIAM H. LAWRENCE

SUBJECT: INVADERS
RM

Information set forth hereinafter has been orally furnished to the Intelligence Bureau of the Memphis PD:

On 6/17 and 20/69 [redacted] orally advised SA WILLIAM H. LAWRENCE that MELVIN SMITH, until recently minister of African culture of the Invadors but who now claims he is technically not an Invador, said he suspects [redacted] is a police officer working in some undercover capacity as did Memphis PD Patrolman MARRELL MC COLLOUGH. He did not give his basis, said he was not bitter. In fact, he said he has always admired MC COLLOUGH, that both MC COLLOUGH and SMITH were from Mississippi and had the same basic childhood backgrounds.

SMITH will not work and does not seem to want to work. He bums $.50 to $1.00 or whatever he can get.

1 - 157-1067
1 - 170-70-Sub (NE 338-R)
1 - 157-1647 [redacted]
1 - 157-1230
1 - 157-1613 (MARRELL MC COLLOUGH)
1 - 157- (Black Arcade)
1 - 157-1258 [redacted]
1 - 157-1806
2 - 170-NEW
1 - 134-477 (Racial Informant Control File)
1 - 157-1111
1 - 170-1114 [redacted]
1 - 157-1308 (COME)
1 - 157-556 (Possible Racial Violence, Major Urban Areas)
1 - 157- [redacted]
1 - 1157-DEAD
1 - 157-1399
1 - 157-
1 - 157-
1 - 157-1815 (Black Student Association)
1 - 100-4394 [redacted]
1 - 157-1804
1 - 157- [redacted]
1 - 157-1626
1 - 157-1629
1 - 66-1687-Sub (Dissemination)

WHL:mnr
(27)

SEARCHED ____ INDEXED ____
SERIALIZED ____ FILED ____
JUL 7 1969
FBI — MEMPHIS

170-70-Sub [redacted]

He said he recently talked to an erudite Black Nationalist in Gary, Ind., whom he worked with prior to coming to Memphis. This Black Nationalist gave him some excellent advice to the effect that "you can't do any constructive work for black or civil rights while you are in jail." MELVIN criticized so many Invaders who have performed what he termed "senseless" criminal acts resulting in their being jailed.

MELVIN has a room near Linden and Hernando, sometimes sleeps in the Black Arcade, the new dashiki shop, 241 Linden, operated by YVONNE BONHART, VERMELLE "GAMALA" JONES, and JOE CALHOUN and "fronted" by LANCE "SWEET WILLIE WINE" WATSON.

Invader GWENDOLYN WHITE is now working for one of the Harlem Houses. Her sister, name not known, was just given a long prison sentence in local Criminal Court. [redacted]

MELVIN SMITH is very close to Father WILLIAM GREENSPUN, Paulist priest at St. Patrick's Parish, Linden Ave. He claims he, MELVIN, has about "conned" the Catholic Church in giving him a $6,000 grant with which to establish a "day care center" at or near St. Patrick's.

MELVIN is getting backing of Catholic women especially, through Sienna College in this regard.

He complained that Rev. MALCOM BLACKBURN, Rev. H. RALPH JACKSON, and others at AME Minimum Salary, will not help him. He laughed and said when he set up his budget for his day car center, he forgot to stipulate or project a salary for himself.

MELVIN is obviously jealous of LANCE "SWEET WILLIE WINE" WATSON, chairman of the Invaders. He said WINE is a supreme egotist and "con" artist, not sincere, and is a "front," "sham," and "phony."

To show the inconsistency of MELVIN, shortly prior to 6/17/69 MELVIN claimed he was once a close follower of male Negro ROBERT F. WILLIAMS, now a Federal fugitive living

in Cuba and Tanzania and formerly in Red China and former head of Revoluntionary Action Movement (RAM) and presently in exile of New African Republic.

In fact, he said WILLIAMS taught him how he could blow up buildings by creating internal fires in air conditioning units by using boxes of matches as an incindiary device. He did not elaborate.

WATSON is attempting through LEONARD SMALL, male Negro, 588 Vance, Negro Business League, to get a Federal Government Small Business Administration loan to expand the Black Arcade, Dashiki Shop at 241 Linden. WATSON continues to "mooch" and "bum" $.50 to $1.00 peddling photographs of himself. He in effect is extorting money as many small merchants and businessmen give him money out of fear, lest he or Invaders damage their property if they fail to make a contribution.

A Mrs. CARADINE, mother-in-law of Black Student Association (BSA) leader RICHARD BONHART, a copy boy at The Commercial Appeal newspaper, owns a sundry store at Linden and Hernando, owns or rents building at 241 Linden, Black Arcade. Her daughter, YVONNE BONHART, runs the Black Arcade. This used to be a second-hand furniture store.

VERMELLE "GAMALA" JONES, erstwhile wife of ANTHONY BAILEY, III, aka ANTRAIBN SHADAD, works there. "GAMALA" recently said that SHADAD, who has left town after recent release from the Shelby County Penal Farm, called her long distance.

[redacted] did not know JOE CALHOUN, who also works at the Black Arcade. CALHOUN is very talented, designs all sorts of black art and black fashions.

ISAAC TAYLOR, MSU student and BSA leader, loafs a lot at the Black Arcade as does FRANK MITCHELL, former Invader and former MSU student.

RICHARD BONHART and COBY VERNON SMITH are trying to start a "black ghetto" oriented newspaper, trying to get their photography work done gratis.

CACHEATUH SMITH, erstwhile secretary of the Invaders and fiancee of LANCE "SWEET WILLIE WINE" WATSON, is pregnant by WINE. The baby is due momentarily. CACHEATUH now says she realizes WINE will not take care of the baby and will not support it and will not settle down and live with her as a husband and father. She stated she realizes that when he got stabbed on 6/5/69 by a Beale St. prostitute that he had been running around with several prostitutes.

An (FNU) PARKER, male Negro, MSU student and BSA member, works nights at the Post Office. He drives a white Oldsmobile Toronado. He had a BSA sweatshirt on in a picture with JAMES MOCK, DAVID ACEY, and RON IVY on or about 4/21/69 at MSU. He was seen riding Memphis PD Homicide Bureau fugitive JOHN CHARLES SMITH, an Invader, on McLemore between Mississippi Blvd. and South Orleans St. on Sunday, 6/7/69. SMITH on 6/4/69 shot FREDDIE PRUITT and Invader ROSETTA WEBB, PRUITT in the back and ROSETTA in both legs. Both are now out of the hospital. ROSETTA still limps.

MICHAEL JEROME STARKS, Invader and Black Knight, has recently been collecting money with which to "hide out" JOHN CHARLES SMITH. He said he has had JOHN CHARLES SMITH hidden out in Jackson, Tenn., with friends or relatives of MICHAEL and through these contacts wants to get JOHN CHARLES SMITH an automobile ride as far as Denver, Colo., but he did not elaborate.

STARKS is obviously staying in the Beale-Hernando-South Fourth-Linden Ave. area as he changes clothes 3 or 4 times a day.

MICHAEL STARKS said JOHN CHARLES has changed his appearance, has shaved his head and mustache and is losing weight.

DECLASSIFIED BY [redacted]
ON 03-[redacted]2012

OPTIONAL FORM NO. 10
MAY 1962 EDITION
GSA GEN. REG. NO. 27
5010-104

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : SAC (157-1067) DATE: 7/10/69

FROM : SA WILLIAM H. LAWRENCE

SUBJECT: INVADERS
RM

On 6/30/, 7/1 and 7/3/69, [redacted] advised as follows:

RE: SHIRLEY KNOX, CACHEATUH SMITH AND JUANITA MILLER

Above three individuals are all Invaders. All admitted to [redacted] having gone to Forrest City, Ark., the week ending 6/28/69 to participate in local Committee for Peaceful Coexistence, due to the fact that Invader Chairman LANCE "SWEET WILLIE WINE" WATSON is working on this project.

1 - 157-1067
1 - 157-1168, RACIAL SITUATION, TENNESSEE
1 - 170-70-Sub, ME 338-R
1 - 157-2091, COMMITTEE FOR PEACEFUL COEXISTENCE
FORREST CITY, ARK.
1 - 157- ,
1 - 157-1563,
1 - 170-1192,
1 - 157-1258,
1 - 170- ,
1 - 157-2092,
1 - 157-953, MEMPHIS WAR ON POVERTY COMMITTEE
1 - 157-1714,
1 - 157-1665,
1 - 157-1472,
1 - 157-1230,
1 - 66-1687-Sub A, Dissemination
1 - 157-1277,
1 - 157-1508,
1 - 157-1116,
WHL:LF
(19)

170-70-Sub [redacted]

MAILED ____ INDEXED ____
SERIALIZED ____ FILED ____
JUL 11 1969
FBI — MEMPHIS

JUANITA MILLER is working for Memphis War on Poverty Committee, financed by OEO. She recently moved to a new apartment located at 589 Richmond, Apt. 4.

SHIRLEY KNOX rooms with MILLER but lives with her parents at 878 South 4th St., Apt. 136 (Fowler Homes, Memphis Housing Authority project), home telephone 525-7675. The 1968 directory lists ODESSA KNOX, 878 S. 4th St., Apt. 136, is employed as a maid for Holiday Inns.

JOHN LEE PARKS dated ERMA CLANTON PARKS, Post Office employee, driver of a 1966 white Oldsmobile Toronado, Tennessee license BK-2964, whom [redacted] has seen riding JOHN CHARLES SMITH, Invader. SMITH, a Memphis PD Homicide Bureau fugitive (shot two Negroes 6/4/69), has been dating ERMA CLANTON, 38 or 39 year old drama and speech teacher at Melrose High School. She is basically a middle of the roader.

RE: COMMITTEE FOR PEACEFUL COEXISTENCE

LANCE "SWEET WILLIE WINE" WATSON, EDDIE MORRIS JR., aka Tate, and RAYMOND LEE are all still in Forrest City with above committee.

[redacted] furnished photographs taken at Forrest City the night of 6/17/69 at committee meeting at St. Andrews Presbyterian Church, depicting the crowd, all black except one white woman who helped committee and one white male reporter from Little Rock. These photographs depict committee leader Rev. CATO BROOKS.

Informant also furnished photographs taken 6/20/69 during a committee-sponsored march, depicting many local Forrest City, Ark., people, plus Invaders:

LANCE "SWEET WILLIE WINE" WATSON
SHIRLEY KNOX
RAYMOND LUCIOUS LEE
SHERMAN YATES
EDDIE MORRIS JR., aka, and his girl friend
PEGGY ANN SMITH
Two unknown subjects and JOE LEE BURNS JR., aka
EDDIE MORRIS JR., aka.

Copies of these photographs are being sent to Little Rock for its file re Committee for Peaceful Coexistence. Others are being channeled to individual files.

FBI Withers 1602

RE: WATSON's MOTHER AND CACHEATUH SMITH

LANCE WATSON's mother knows that CACHEATU SMITH, Invader secretary and girl friend of LANCE WATSON, is pregnant by him. She told CACHEATUH she doubted that WATSON would take care of the baby but she would help out. She is married to an ARTHUR BALLARD and lives at 1709 South Parkway East, telephone 272-3172. She has mixed emotions about WATSON and does not want him in Invaders but still respects him as a son.

CHARLES S. BALLARD, EMMETT HOUSE and VERDELL BROOKS are loafing. All three are former Invaders and are loafing in the Beale-Hernando vile-ridden area. None are working. HOUSE is worst, is a dope head and alcoholic, and bums from everyone. BROOKS is lazy and follows line of least resistance. BALLARD talks a "good game," saying ye wants to go back to college.

MELVIN SMITH has OEO job. He still is a Beale St. bum and is living in a rooming house around Linden and Hernando. He is now working on a project sponsored by Father Bertrand High School and financed by Office of Economic Opportunity and Memphis War on Poverty Committee, teaching young boys and returnees or parolees from state reformatory. He bragged that on 7/1/69 he took some of these boys to visit the City Court of Judge BERNIE WEINMAN.

MELVIN said he resented the fact that the FBI interviewed him on or about 6/30/69. OEO is branch of U. S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare.

JOHN B. SMITH and OREE MC KENZIE are both dormant. Both are assiduously avoiding any contact or association with current Invader group. They do not want to jeopardize their current appeals of recent court convictions.

Above information is being furnished to the Intelligence Division of the Memphis PD.

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FBI AUTOMATIC DECLASSIFICATION GUIDE
DATE 03 07 2012

OPTIONAL FORM NO. 10
MAY 1962 EDITION
GSA GEN. REG. NO. 27
5010-106

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : SAC, MEMPHIS (157-1067) DATE: 7/10/69

FROM : SA WILLIAM H. LAWRENCE

SUBJECT: INVADERS
RM

INFO RE FUGITIVE JOHN CHARLES SMITH

JOHN LEE PARKS, MICHAEL J. STARKS, and WILLIE T. HARRIS all may be hiding him.

1 - 157-1067
1 - 157-1168 - Racial Situation, Tenn.
1 - 170-70-SUB (ME 338-R)
1 - 170-1040-SUB [redacted]
1 - 170-New [redacted]
1 - 170-1191
1 - 157-1626
1 - 157-1765
1 - 170-1190-SUB [redacted]
1 - 157-1312 (Black Knights)
1 - 157-1292 [redacted]
1 - 157-2091 (Committee for Peaceful Co-existence, Forrest City, Ark.)
1 - 157-1647 [redacted]
1 - 157-1548
1 - 157-166 (SCLC)
1 - 100-4528 [redacted]
1 - 157-2112 (Black Arcade)
1- 157-1518 (Black Student Association)
1 - 170-1068 [redacted]
1 - 66-1687-SUB A (Dissemination)

WHL:cjs
(20)

170-70-Sub
SEARCHED ____ INDEXED ____
SERIALIZED ____ FILED ____
JUL 11 1969
FBI — MEMPHIS

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DATE 03 07 2012

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DATE 7/20/78

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(See Bufile 62-117290; re HSCA request dated 7/5/78)

memphis

FILE NO. 170-70

SECTION

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(except following serials not in file on this date:)

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DATE 06-16-2017

SAC (157-1067) 8/7/69

SA WILLIAM H. LAWRENCE

INVADERS
RM

On 7/31/69 [redacted] furnished to the writer recently obtained photographs of the following individuals:

14 photographs of Father MAHONEY, Pastor of St. Patrick's Catholic Church, Linden Ave., Memphis, Tenn., who is a close friend of Minister of Defense and Minister of African Culture of the Invaders, MELVIN SMITH, and who, along with Father WILLIAM GREENSPUN and Father CHARLES MARTIN, allows MELVIN and some of the Invaders to use the facilities of this church.

11 photographs of JAMES EDWARD MOCK, who was the self-acclaimed leader of the Black Student Association (BSA), Memphis State University (MSU), during the spring of 1969.

(These are recent photographs of both MOCK and MAHONEY taken in 7/69. The photograph of MOCK depicts him with his beard shaved, giving him a definite different appearance than that which he previously had.)

7 photographs of WILBERT JAMES, JR., aka T. C., a local Invader last known to be in Forrest City, Ark., with the Invader Chairman LANCE "SWEET WILLIE WINE" WATSON.

(This photograph was also taken in 7/69 and depicts JAMES in his Afro garb with a large earring hanging from his right ear.)

170-70-[redacted]

1 - 157-1067
(1) - 170-70-Sub (ME 338-R)
1 - 170-1068 [redacted]
1 - 157-2098
1 - 157-1230
1 - 66-1687-[redacted]
WHL:mnr
(6)

INDEXED ... INDEXED
SERIALIZED ... FILED
AUG 1969
FBI — MEMPHIS

FBI Withers 1195

These photographs are retained in the respective files of WILBERT JAMES, JR., and JAMES EDWARD MOCK. With regard to the photographs of Father MAHONEY, they are being retained in the 1-A section of the Invaders file.

Copies of these photographs have been made available to Detective JERRY DAVIS of the Intelligence Bureau, Memphis, Tenn., PD.

FBI-Withers-1197

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DATE 02 27 2012

SAC (157-1067) 8/15/69

SA WILLIAM H. LAWRENCE

INVADERS
RM

On 8/7/69 [redacted] advised that he had heard nothing further concerning the Committee for Peaceful Coexistence, Forrest City, Arkansas, in which LANCE "SWEET WILLIE WINE" WATSON, the Chairman of the Invaders, and other young Invader dissidents have been working in Forrest City and other areas of Arkansas off and on since 6/17/69. He feels that this group is now concentrating in Arkansas, having failed to get any support from Memphians.

WATSON and his followers are not known to have been in Memphis for the past ten days.

Informant pointed out that several of the group which were in Forrest City have lost interest. They were considered loosely to be Invaders such as RAYMOND LUCIUS LEE, SHIRLEY KNOX, and MICHAEL JEROME STARKS. They are now back in Memphis. STARKS apparently will not work, is loafing around the Beale Street area, and RAYMOND LEE on 8/4/69 was dropped off with SHIRLEY KNOX at the apartment of JUANITA MILLER, a good-time girl who in the past has run with the Invaders, with the SCLC and other groups, and who is now working for the War on Poverty Committee on the North Memphis project. She lives in an apartment at 589 Richmond and LEE indicated that he and SHIRLEY KNOX and MICHAEL STARKS are all staying at MILLER's house, apparently having a good time while she is working during the day.

b7c -1, -4
b7c 2, 4
b7c 1, 4

1 - 157-1067
1 - 170-70 Sub (MM 338-R)
1 - 170-1192 [redacted]
1 - 157-2113
1 - 157-2092
1 - 157-1258 [redacted]
1 - 157-1069 [redacted]
1 - 157-2112 (Black Arcade)
1 - 157-2091 (Committee for Peaceful Coexistence, Forrest City, Ark.)

170-70-Sub [redacted]

WHL:gmh
(9)

Informant has also seen RONALD LOUIS IVY and ISAAC TAYLOR of the Black Arcade. IVY no longer talks militant. He is talking like a capitalist, is attempting to make money out of theBlack Arcade by selling dashikis and other merchandise of Black African culture nature and in fact, in connection with a recent rather aggravated civil rights case involving the police allegedly breaking the arms of a young 17-year-old Negro boy from Wisconsin, on hearing of this IVY showed no interest whatsoever in making any protests. IVY has made no mention whatsoever of the Black Student Association (BSA) and informant feels now that the wild statements made by IVY during the April, 1969, crisis at Memphis State University were emotional arguments and that IVY had no intention of following through.

Informant feels that the Black Arcade headed by IVY and ISAAC TAYLOR will be a failure due to the fact that the workmanship on the dashikis made by these people are poor, the seams are not good, and that they cannot make a living selling nothing but dashikis. He pointed out that an unusual situation exists and that one ERNESTINE HOUSTON, female Negro, who was rather precocious child, graduating from LeMoyne College at an early age and being probably the first female Negro to ever go through the University of Tennessee Medical School, is not working, is loafing at the Black Arcade, and that her father recently stated that despite the fact that the girl has graduated from Medical School, has done her internship, that she refuses to go to work in private practice and glories in loafing around the so-called "black hippie types" who hang out at the Black Arcade.

FBI-Withers-1606

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OPTIONAL FORM NO. 10
MAY 1962 EDITION
GSA GEN. REG. NO. 27
5010-108

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : SAC, MEMPHIS (157-1067) DATE: 8/21/69

FROM : SA WILLIAM H. LAWRENCE

SUBJECT: INVADERS
RM

On 7/31/69, [redacted] orally advised SA WILLIAM H. LAWRENCE as follows:

RE: RAYMOND L. LEE, AND MICHAEL JEROME STARKS

RAYMOND L. LEE, recent Invader follower, who had been to Forrest City, Ark., to work with Committee for Peaceful Coexistence, headed by Rev. CATO BROOKS, Forrest City, Ark., with LANCE WATSON, Prime Minister of Invaders, is back in Memphis. He loafs with MICHAEL JEROME STARKS and neither seem to want to work. He said something about them going to see one FOSTER ADAMS in the McCall Building at some sort of a community agency. STARKS keeps saying he wants to go to school but indications are that he is too lazy to do so. STARKS brags about having been a salesman at Julius Lewis, and Hardy Shoes. He seems to know all the Beale Street, Hernando, and Fourth Street prostitutes and, circumstantially, indications are that STARKS may be pimping Negro womenas he definitely is not working. He is also running with some unidentified young male Negroes who have the reputation of being shoplifters.

1 - 157-1067 (Invaders)
1 - 170-70-SUB (ME 338-R)
1 - 157-2091 (Committee for Peaceful Coexistence, Forrst City, Ark.)
1 - 157-1258
1 - 157-2092
1 - 170-1191
1 - 157-1564
1 - 157-2048
1 - 157-1230
1 - 157-1662
1 - 157-1205 (Black Panther Party)
1 - 170-1068
1 - 157-1152
1 - 157-2084
1 - 66-1687-SUB (a) (Dissemination)

[redacted]

170-70-Sub [redacted]
SEARCHED ..... INDEXED .....
SERIALIZED ..... FILED .....
AUG 22 1969
FBI — MEMPHIS

WHL:cjs
(15)

RE: LANCE WATSON AND FORREST CITY

The disabled veteran (FNU) PINKSTON, male Negro of Forrest City, Ark., who frequently comes to Memphis, keeps saying that Rev. CATO BROOKS is trying to politically use Ark. Governor WINTHROP ROCKEFELLER. He recently had an appointment to see the Governor and failed to show up. He is getting egotistical and "full of himself". PINKSTON said LANCE WATSON is not overly effective in the Forrest City area.

EMMA JEAN and LOUIS WELCH

EMMA JEAN WELCH, [redacted] and sister of recent Invader Chairman, LOUIS WELCH, is back on the streets but says nothing regarding the whereabouts of LOUIS. She has said nothing further concerning her alleged trip to Peoria, Ill., for the purpose of [redacted] nor has she said anything concerning RISE HELLER, a white female who LOUIS was pimping around late April and early May, 1969.

RE: MELVIN SMITH and BLACK PANTHERS

MELVIN, who was Minister of Defense of Invaders, says he is fed up with LANCE WATSON and Invaders; that for all practical purposes Invaders have ceased to exist. An unidentified Negro girl recently commented that MELVIN SMITH had recently said he would form a Black Panther Party in Memphis. She did not elaborate. MELVIN recently complained that someone broke into his room on Linden Avenue, next to Hooks Brothers Photo Studio, and had stolen some clothes and papers.

CORNELIA CRENSHAW

CORNELIA CRENSHAW, female Negro political dissident and political crony of Negro realtor O. W. PICKETT, female barber TARLESE MATHEWS, and white minister CARL O. BAYSINGER, is stating a movement to picket Memphis Light, Gast, and Water Division to protest loaffer's collection of City Sanitation and Sewer Fees on utility bills.

RE: JAMES EDWARD MOCK and REV. HAROLD MIDDLEBROOK

MOCK has an office for his "Operation Don't Stop" Movement in the Minimum Salary Building, AME Church, 276 Hernando. He is a braggart and publicity seeker. He recently commented he plans to re-enroll at MSU in the fall of 1969 and how he is going to "show up the MSU Administration". He has not become specific as to what he plans to do.

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MAY 1962 EDITION
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5010-108

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : SAC (157-1067) DATE: 8/22/69

FROM : SA WILLIAM H. LAWRENCE

SUBJECT: INVADERS
RM

On 8/14/69 [redacted] orally advised SA WILLIAM H. LAWRENCE as follows:

Re: MELVIN SMITH

MELVIN SMITH is still bumming, living in a rooming house on Linden, working for Memphis War on Poverty Committee in its Father Bertrand High School project teaching teenagers regarding city functions. He is strictly "conning his way" and is not sincere. He bums all over Beale - Hernando vice area. He keeps claiming he wants to settle down and work but is lacking in sufficient motivation to do so.

1 - 157-1067 (Invaders)
1 - 170-70-Sub (ME 338-R)
1 - 157-1230 [redacted]
1 - 157-1152
1 - 170-1068
1 - 157-1258
1 - 170-1191
1 - 157-953 (Memphis War on Poverty Committee)
1 - 157-1641 [redacted]
1 - 157-1815 (Black Student Association)
1 - 157-Dead [redacted]
1 - 157-2128 (Operation Don't Stop)
1 - 157-2112 (Black Arcade)
1 - 157-1516 (AFSCME)
1 - 157-1308 (COME)
1 - 157-1181 [redacted]
1 - 66-1687-Sub A (Dissemination)
WHL:mnr
(17)

170-70-Sub-[redacted]

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SERIALIZED ____ FILED ____
AUG 25 1969
FBI—MEMPHIS

Re: MICHAEL JEROME STARKS

STARKS, too, is bumming, will not work, follows line of least resistance, and is suspected by [redacted] of living off the earnings of prostitutes.

Re: HAROLD MIDDLEBROOK, the Invaders, and MAP-South

Rev. HAROLD MIDDLEBROOK, male Negro, still is a U. S. Post Office employee. He is the brother-in-law of JAMES EDWARD MOCK, 1969 Spring, leader of Black Student Association at Memphis State University. He is the new president of the Memphis Area Project-South (MAP-South), an anti-poverty program in black poverty area from Beale St. south to Crump Blvd. He replaced Rev. JAMES MORRIS LAWSON, JR. He said he plans to re-instate ROBERT "BOB" NEWELL, white male, a MAP-South employee who was discharged by MAP-South Director AUTRY PARKER.

MIDDLEBROOK said NEWELL is an excellent employee but several blacks complained he was too dogmatic, paternalistic and insistant on strictly adhering to guidelines of War on Poverty Committee, the parent group of MAP-South.

MIDDLEBROOK is an egotist, claimed he has been an adult adviser for the Invaders and its prime minister, LANCE "SWEET WILLIE WINE" WATSON. He claimed he has been telling WATSON to "cool it," to divest his ranks of the criminal element lest he obviate all chances of ever getting any solid governmental or church group backing.

MIDDLEBROOK indicated he is disenchanted with his brother-in-law JAMES EDWARD MOCK. He said MOCK is losing his influence on the Memphis State University students, that they no longer flock to MOCK's apartment on Walker as they did, that MOCK has dissipated all the funds provided him by the Methodist Church, COME (Community on Move for Equality), and by Local 1733, American Federation of State, County, and Municipal Employees, ostensibly used to survey black teenagers to get school dropouts back in school.

Re: HELEN BRIDGES

HELEN BRIDGES, one of the original Invaders, girl friend of former active Invader CHARLES S. BALLARD (she had a

FBI Withers 1610

baby by BALLARD), is now a trainee as life insurance agent for Supreme Life Insurance Co.

Re: Black Arcade

To date, there is no evidence that the Black Arcade is engaged in any illegal or political revolutionary activities.

One enigma exists in that the first female Negro to ever graduate from the University of Tennessee Medical School as a physician, namely EARLINE HOUSTON, is with Black Arcade at 300 E. McLemore. She has completed her internship and is ready to practice medicine but refuses to do so. She is seemingly immature, comes from an excellent family, was precocious, one of the youngest ever to graduate from LeMoyne-Owen College, and seems to have a psychological "hang up" on the new "Afro look" and black psychedelic image propounded by the Black Arcade.

All of the above information is being furnished to the Intelligence Bureau, MPD.

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DATE 01-18-2012

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

In Reply, Please Refer to File No.

Memphis, Tennessee
August 26, 1969

RE: INVADERS
Racial Matters

Following is a summary of recent activities of the Invaders, Memphis, Tennessee black power group, whose headquarters until early June, 1969, were located at 271 Vance Avenue. This is information developed subsequent to that set forth in communication captioned as above at Memphis dated June 6, 1969.

(A characterization of the Invaders is set forth in the Appendix Section of this communication).

During the past 3 months, the Invaders have, for all practical purposes, ceased to exist. Their office at 271 Vance Avenue, a store front, was padlocked around June 1, 1969, due to non-payment of rent. The Invaders, as of June 13, 1969, owed the South Central Bell Telephone and Telegraph Company $332.25 in unpaid telephone bills. Their telephone number 527-5130 was disconnected June 19, 1969, due to non-payment of the bill. By then the office had been padlocked. The bulk of these phone toll charges were personal calls made by various Invaders and visitors to the Invaders office.

(Source one, 8/25/69)

The black adult groups such as Reverend Ezekiel Bell, President, Memphis NAACP, and Reverend H. Ralph Jackson, Director of the AME Church, Minimum Salary Division, both heads of the Community on the Move for Equality (CORE), a Negro ministerial group, which had paid the Invaders' rent since January 1, 1969, ceased giving the Invaders money. The Invaders' bank account at the Tri-State Bank is depleted.

(Source one and two, 8/25/69.)

SEARCHED
SERIALIZED None
INDEXED
FILED None

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
GROUP 1:
Excluded from automatic downgrading and declassification

170-70-Sub-

RE: INVADERS

CONFIDENTIAL

On August 25, 1969, Sources [redacted] advised that no Invader meetings have been held since May, 1969. The Invader bank account at the Tri-State Bank, Memphis, contains less than $100. Checks have been countersigned by Lance Watson and Donald Pigford. The Invader Secretary, Cacheatuh Undre Smith, has lost the bank book. Both sources added that Cacheatuh Undre Smith gave birth to a in June, 1969, fathered by Watson and born out of wedlock.

The last known officers of the Invaders as of May 13, 1969, immediately prior to their formal demise were as follows:

Prime Minister	Lance "Sweet Willie Wine" Watson
Chairman	Louis "The Lock" Welch
Petty Treasurer	James Pegues
Business Manager	Donald Pigford
Secretary	Cacheatuh Undre Smith
Assistant Secretary	Brenda Majors
Assistant Secretary	Gwendolyn White
Minister of Defense	Melvin Smith

Former officers, Maurice Lewis and Roy Lee Turks, were inducted into the U. S. Army in late April and early May, 1969. The Board of Directors has ceased to exist. Recent board member Coby Vernon Smith, 2240 Brown Avenue, Memphis, graduated from Southwestern College and has gone to New York City to work at the Westbury City College, Westbury, New York.

Charles Laverne Cabbage, on May 21, 1969, was sentenced to a 4½-year Federal prison sentence for violation of the Selective Service Laws (failure to report for armed forces induction). This sentence was given in U. S. District Court, Memphis, by U. S. District Court Judge Bailey Brown. On the same day, he commenced serving a combined 1-year Tennessee State sentence for Carrying a Pistol and Third Degree Burglary. He is currently confined to the Shelby County Penal Farm.

John Burrell Smith is currently out on bond, appealing his State conviction in which he was charged with Inciting a Riot at Carver High School in May, 1967. He is living at 1915 Rile and has engaged in no recent Invaders activities.

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Donald Clarence Pigford is still a student at Memphis State University.

(Sources one, two and three, 8/25/69)

Louis Welch has gone to Atlanta, Georgia, and allegedly is living in care of a relative, believed to be an uncle, Thomas Alexander, 5231 Cross, Atlanta, Georgia.

(Source two, 8/25/69)

Harrell McCollough, former Invaders Board of Directors member, was actually a patrolman with the Memphis Police Department working under cover from February, 1968, until March 31, 1969. He is now assigned to the Intelligence Unit of the Memphis Police Department. As recently as July 31, 1969, McCollough advised that for all practical purposes the Invaders have ceased to exist, they have no meeting place, former members have dispersed, they have printed no literature in several months, have no known connections with any outside groups, and have no known arsenal of weapons. He said the Invaders have never been an effective group. He stated that at the outset they intimidated the black community by braggadocio and extortive-type tactics but now the black community realizes the Invaders were basically phony, criminally intent and petty in their actions, and most Negro adults will now "stand up" to any Invader. McCollough's views were corroborated by Sources one and two on August 25, 1969.

Melvin Smith, until recently the Minister of Defense of the Invaders, claimed he is through with the Invaders and that he does not like Lance Watson. He has been working with Paulist Priests at St. Patrick's Church and with Father Bertrand High School priests in teaching teen-age children civic affairs under a grant made by the Memphis War on Poverty Committee (WOPC) financed by the Office of Economic Opportunity (OEO). Melvin still, however, says that he is an individual black militant and black revolutionary.

(Sources one and two, 8/25/69)

Gwendolyn White has left the Invaders and is now working as a waitress for the Harlem House food chain in Memphis.

(Source two, 8/25/69)

RE: INVADERS

CONFIDENTIAL

RE: JOHN CHARLES SMITH

John Charles Smith, a recent assistant Minister of Defense, Invaders, was arrested in Chicago, Illinois, by the Memphis Bonding Company and returned to Memphis, Tennessee, where he is confined to the Shelby County Jail awaiting trial for his June 4, 1969, shooting of Freddie Pruitt and Rosetta Webb. His trial date has not been set.

(Source: [redacted]

Lance Watson, since June 17, 1969, has been in Forrest City, Arkansas, assisting a Negro Minister, Reverend Cato Brooks, and his "Committee for Peaceful Coexistence" in a drive to desegregate store employment in Forrest City and to gain a series of demands relating to better schools, criminal justice and related demands. This group is now promoting a mule train march from West Memphis, Arkansas, to Little Rock, Arkansas, to commence August 20, 1969, culminating in their arrival at the Arkansas State Capitol, August 24, 1969. Watson has had several young so-called Invaders, Eddie Morris, Jr., also known as Eddie Tate; Wilbert James, Jr., Joe Y. Calhoun, and Sherman Yates, with him. Watson's trials in Shelby County Criminal Court on charges of Carrying a Pistol and Extortion at the "Jump and Grab" Grocery, both in the fall of 1968, have been postponed until September, 1969. Watson seems to have lost his influence in Memphis, Tennessee.

(Sources one, two, and three, 8/25/69)

RE: FORREST CITY, ARKANSAS

On August 25, 1969, sources one, two, and three advised that as recently as August 18, 1969, Watson had been unable to marshal any perceptible forces for his Forrest City operation and that this was indicative of the lack of Invader support and influence in Memphis. They added that Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC) had considered supporting the Forrest City operation but decided not to do so, adding that even some of Watson's earlier Invader supporters such as Raymond

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Lucious Lee, Shirley Knox, Sherman Yates, Juanita Miller, and Michael Jerome Starks had made trips to Forrest City only to return to Memphis, having no further interest in supporting Watson.

Compounding the problems of Watson and the Invaders, according to these same 3 sources, was the fact that on August 14, 1969, 3 of Watson's young Invader supporters, with him in Forrest City, were arrested, and charged with the stabbing and robbing of a 63-year-old Forrest City grocer William Eppes, taking $55 in the robbery. The 3 arrested Invaders are Eddie Morris, Jr., also known as Eddie Tate; his girl friend, Peggy Ann Smith, who claims she is his wife; and a new Invader, Johnny Harper, all of Memphis. All are being held in St. Francis County Jail, Forrest City, Arkansas, in lieu of $25,000 bond each.

Further, according to all 3 sources, Watson broke his relationship with the Forrest City "Committee for Peaceful Coexistence" leaders, Rev. Cato Brooks, and Rev. J. F. Cooley, after they agreed with Arkansas Governor Winthrop Rockefeller to hold in abeyance a scheduled August 20, 1969, West Memphis, Arkansas, to Little Rock, Arkansas, march to dramatize Negro demands in Forrest City.

On August 19, 1969, Source two advised that Watson came to Memphis alone, called a Press Conference in which he denounced Rev. Cato Brooks, claiming he had "sold out" to Governor Rockefeller, and stated that he, Watson, would march alone, if necessary, from West Memphis to Little Rock, beginning at 8:00 a.m., August 20, 1969. He claimed the Invaders were merely "underground" and claimed that after the march he would return to Memphis and start a "Breakfast for Children" program similar to the ones utilized by the Black Panther Party. He left Memphis alone at 12:30 p.m., August 19, 1969, according to source two, to return to Forrest City.

A fourth source, on August 19, 1969, advised that at Watson's press conference, Watson, in discussing the cancellation by Rev. Cato Brooks, Forrest City, Arkansas, of his scheduled

August 20, 1969, civil rights march from West Memphis, Arkansas, to Little Rock, Arkansas, stated that Brooks had promised Arkansas Governor Winthrop Rockefeller to postpone his scheduled "mule train" march. He stated that Watson then prepared to have his own march to leave West Memphis at 8:00 a.m., August 20, 1969. He promised to have one mule train plus 200 volunteer marchers who would walk to Little Rock via Forrest City and Hazen, Arkansas. Watson said he had heard that the John Birch Society had stated the march would not reach Forrest City or Hazen but the group was determined to survive. When asked by a reporter if this meant his group would be armed, he obliquely replied, "We will survive and defend ourselves if necessary". Watson elaborated that his group of Invaders "is now underground" but will resurface upon termination of his scheduled march, return to Memphis to become active in politics and economics, and set up an "Operation Breakfast Program".

On August 19, 1969, the second source advised that there has been no indication whatsoever that any of the Invaders have recently been armed.

On August 25, 1969, Source two and Patrolman Marrell McCollough, Intelligence Bureau, Memphis Police Department, who was an Invader "undercover" from the spring of 1968 until March 21, 1969, stated that Watson was bluffing when he said Invaders have gone underground. Both sources said that actually the Invaders now exist in name only, a creature of the news media which keeps their name alive by unctuously and patronizingly giving publicity to every utterance and action, no matter how fatuous or trivial, of Watson.

On the a.m., August 20, 1969, Source two advised that Waston, accompanied by 2 Memphis Invaders, Kenny Baker and Yerby Joseph Calhoun, male Negro, date of birth February 7, 1950, at Memphis, legal residence 3402 Borea, Memphis; plus 2 Forrest City Negro teenagers, left West Memphis, Arkansas, on foot en route Little Rock, Arkansas. Source two added that this was strictly a publicity stunt and that Watson's girl friend Cacheatuh Undre Smith, accompanied by Charles Tisdale, husband of Watson's attorney Laverne Tisdale, came to see them off. The marchers were accompanied by a Ford Station Wagon driven by a Forrest City white woman, Peggy Vittitow, also known as Mrs. Joe Vittitow, who has been supporting Watson since June 17, 1969, and by a Memphis Invader Wilbert James, Jr., also known as Top Cat, a young excitement seeker, currently on bond for 2 Memphis charges

FBI-Withers-1617

of attempted burglary and of allowing a police dog to bite a 4-year-old Negro boy. Source two added that the marchers were joined by Invader Joe Lee Burns, Jr., also known as King Jewell, at Lehi, Arkansas, at noon, August 20, 1969.

The Memphis Commercial Appeal, Memphis, Tennessee daily newspaper, issues of August 21, 22, 23, 24, and 25, 1969, gave coverage to "Watson's March", reporting that it progressed without incident to Little Rock, Arkansas, culminating August 24, 1969, at the State Capitol. This newspaper gave considerable publicity to the fact that the small town of Hazen, Arkansas, "over-reacted" by arming its citizens in anticipation of the march passing through Hazen.

On August 25, 1969, Source two advised that 2 dissident Democratic Party Negro politicians in Memphis, Cornelia Crenshaw and Negro Realtor O. W. Pickett, capitalized on the "march" publicity by joining the march on Saturday, August 23, 1969. The Commercial Appeal issue of August 25, 1969, quoted Crenshaw as saying she "came here because I wanted to put this man (Watson) in the same position as Martin Luther King". It added that Pickett "praised Watson for his leadership".

On August 25, 1969, Source two advised that the Commercial Appeal "played into Watson's hands" by unctuously building him completely out of proportion when, in its Sunday, August 24, 1969, edition, it adulated Watson. Therein, in a story by its Little Rock Bureau Correspondent John Bennett, it claimed that Governor Winthrop Rockefeller had, in effect, bought off Cato Brooks but that he "did not deter Lance 'Sweet Willie Wine" Watson, who marched across the Delta land crying a deal had been made with the Governor and those 2 ministers from Forrest City, the Rev. Cato Brooks and the Rev. J. F. Cooley." The story stated ..."Mr. Watson, so-called 'Prime Minister' of the Invaders, a militant group from Memphis, organized march supporters and virtually led the Rev. Mr. Brooks by the hand. He had crossed the Mississippi River into foreign land for a chance at new militant recognition and suddenly found, to his disappointment, that the Forrest City brother had left him for the Governor. He said he had no other choice but to march. He said he would never deal with the Governor. He marched in the face of Hazen where everyone expected him to really get a rising. At the Mansion (Governor's Mansion) Mr. Watson was excluded, the man who had done the march organizing in Arkansas."

The story added:

"The Rev. Mr. Brooks is feeling pretty good that he accomplished so much, he avoided incident, got promises from Arkansas, made a break through in civil rights, shook town apathy, and got himself known among Arkansas Negroes. For all his criticism, Mr. Watson can take a lot of credit. Despite his regalia, colorful garb and saucy language, Mr. Watson proved the real behind the scenes catalyst. While Forrest City ministers got the credit and Mr. Watson the scorn, everyone forgot the organization efforts, fruitless as they were, of Mr. Watson. Mr. Watson just went marching."

The Commercial Appeal story in the issue of August 25, 1969, was captioned: "Watson is Hailed at March's Finish". This story read, "Foot sore Negroes ended a 130 mile 'march against fear' Sunday with a challenge that there is nothing to fear but fear itself. The four day walk across East Arkansas ended at the State Capitol steps where 300 gathered to hear songs, prayers, and a call for black unity in Arkansas. 'A lot has been accomplished,' Watson said. 'If you need anything, call us'." It added, "Lance 'Sweet Willie Wine' Watson, so-called Prime Minister of the Invaders, was lauded as the hero for leading the march. He told Negroes, most of them from Little Rock, that his march helped change attitudes in Arkansas."

As recently as August 25, 1969, Sources one, two and three, and five advised that only time will tell whether the publicity derived by Watson during his march will cause any resurrection of Invader activity in Memphis or whether Watson, now a news media created hero in Arkansas, will move on to other endeavors in Arkansas or elsewhere

On August 25, 1969, Bennie W. Lang, male Negro, and Wilbert James, Jr., also known as T. C., "Top Cat", both advised a representative of the FBI that they participated in portions of the 8/20/69 to August 24, 1969, Invaders March, West Memphis, Arkansas, to Little Rock, Arkansas, and to their knowledge, Invader activity in Arkansas was terminated unless local Arkansas Negroes requested their return to that state. They pointed out that the Invaders are currently inactive, have no meeting place, no funds, and they have no more than 10 or 11 people who could be

considered Invaders. They named Yerby Joseph Calhoun, Lance Watson, Cacheatuh Undre Smith, Peggy Ann Smith (girl friend of Eddie Morris, Jr., also known as Eddie Tate), and Johnny Harper plus 2 from the Forrest City area whose names they could not recall. One was called "Candy". They said that there were no untoward incidents during the march.

Lang described himself as an artist, a graduate of Manassas High School, Memphis, a former attendee at Memphis Art Academy, born June 2, 1935, LeFlore County, Mississippi. He has a black art shop at 704 North Second Street, Memphis, and resides at 1205 Azalia, Apt. 8, telephone 942-9969. He is 6' tall, weighs 175 pounds, and once served time in the Shelby County Penal Farm, Memphis, for shooting his wife. He has Memphis Police Department No. [redacted]

James advised that he uses the aliases of T. C. and "Top Cat". He stated he was born January 6, 1949, at Memphis, Tennessee, and lives at 256 Pauline Circle, West, Apt. "H", with his father, Wilbert James. He is 5'7" tall, and weighs 140 pounds.

Both James and Lang claimed that the August 14, 1969, stabbing and robbing of a Forrest City grocer by Eddie Morris, Jr., Peggy Ann Smith and Johnny Harper was not countenanced or condoned by the Invaders; they operated as individuals.

They both predicted that the Invaders would have difficulty in making any sort of a "come back" in Memphis due to a general lack of apathy in the Negro community.

Lang said he considers himself to be a "coordinator" of Invaders.

James said he considered himself to be a "Minister of Defense" of the Invaders.

RE: POSSIBLE CONNECTION WITH BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP)

A Black Panther Party (BPP) rally was held in Oakland, California, Easter Sunday, April 6, 1969, at which Bobby Seale, BPP Chairman, spoke. A Negro male, claiming to be Louis Welch of the Memphis Invaders and using the address of 271 Vanness (phonetic), Memphis, also spoke. He said the Invaders were

similar to the Black Panther Party (BPP), and said the white power structure would have to be torn down with the main targets to be trains, oil foundries and shipping areas. On May 2, 1969, a photograph of Louis Welch was identified as being the person claiming to be from Memphis. The manner in which he was invited to Oakland was unknown.

(Source six, 4/21 and 5/2/69)

The following sources have advised that Louis Welch was in Memphis as late as Friday, April 4, 1969, and was back in Memphis by Monday or Tuesday, April 7 or 8, 1969. The sources also advised that at no time has Welch or any other Invaders member mentioned any connection with the BPP or any trips to Oakland, California.

(Sources one, two, three, seven and Patrolman Marrell McCollough, Intelligence Bureau, Memphis Police Department, all contacted 7/31/69)

On August 4, 1969, source one advised that Rufus Henderson, a friend of Louis Welch, had, on August 1, 1969, commented that he had heard that Louis Welch had, since May, 1969, been to Atlanta, Los Angeles and Chicago and that at one time Welch hoped to form an alliance or coalition of Invaders with Black Egyptians of East St. Louis, Illinois; the Blackstone Rangers of Chicago, Illinois; and the Black Panther Party, all militant black power groups. However, Welch was unsuccessful, none of the above organizations would have anything to do with the Invaders and, in fact, the presence of Invaders in Memphis was the primary reason the Black Panthers did not come into Memphis. The Black Panthers felt the Invaders were too open with their operation and that too many members were arrested on various criminal charges. Also, these groups soon learned that the Invaders had no money and were primarily interested in "conning" money from them.

It will be recalled that on June 1, 1969, sources one and two advised that a group of 4 male Negroes claiming to be from the BPP, Chicago, were in Memphis and in contact with Melvin Smith, self-acclaimed Minister of Defense of the Invaders.

By communication dated August 21, 1969, the Chicago FBI Division advised that a check of all logical sources in the BPP in Chicago plus a check with the Chicago Police Department, Intelligence Unit, failed to develop any information indicative that any BPP members have been to Memphis or have been in contact with Memphians, including Invaders.

On August 14, 1969, Source two advised that Louis Welch's sister, Emma Jean Welch, [redacted] in Memphis, has said nothing recently regarding Welch's whereabouts.

On August 13, 1969, Welch's grandmother, Queen Victoria Welch, 1306 South Parkway East, a widow, advised that Welch's mother, Mrs. Lee Ethel Welch, lives at 7925 Drexel, Chicago, Illinois; that his estranged wife ROSE and 2 children live at an unknown address in Memphis; that he has an uncle, Thomas Alexander of 2351 Cross Road, Atlanta, Georgia, with whom Welch has lived in the past; and that he has a sister, Mrs. William Granbberry (Ethel Welch Granbberry); address unknown, also in Atlanta, Georgia.

(A characterization of the Black Panther Party is set out in the characterization.)

FBI-Withers-1622

BLACK PANTHER PARTY

According to its official newspaper, the Black Panther Party (BPP) was started during December, 1966, in Oakland, California, to organize black people so they can take control of the life, politics, and the destiny of the black community. It was organized by Bobby George Seale, BPP Chairman, and Huey P. Newton, BPP Minister of Defense. Newton is presently serving a sentence of 2 to 15 years on a conviction of manslaughter in connection with the killing of an Oakland police officer.

The official newspaper, "The Black Panther," which further describes itself as the "Black Community News Service," states that the BPP advocates the use of guns and guerrilla tactics in its revolutionary program to end oppression of the black people. Residents of the black community are urged to arm themselves against the police who are consistently referred to in the publication as "pigs" who should be killed.

"The Black Panther" issue of September 7, 1968, contains an editorial by BPP Minister of Education, George Mason Murray, which ends with the following:

"Black men. Black people, colored persons of America, revolt everywhere! Arm yourselves. The only culture worth keeping is a revolutionary culture. Change. Freedom everywhere. Dynamite! Black Power. Use the gun. Kill the pigs everywhere."

Included in the introduction to an article appearing in the October 5, 1968, edition of "The Black Panther" is the statement. "...we will not dissent from American Government. We will overthrow it."

Issues of "The Black Panther" regularly contain quotations from the writings of Chairman MAO Tse-tung of the People's Republic of China and feature MAO's statement that "political power grows out of the barrel of a gun."

The national headquarters of the BPP is located at 3106 Shattuck Avenue, Berkeley, California. Branches have been established at various locations throughout the United States.

INVADERS, also known as
Black Organizing Project

On May 7, 1969, a first source advised that a militant black nationalist group of young Memphis, Tennessee, Negroes, now known as Invaders, was originally formed in the summer and fall of 1967 by three Memphis Negroes, Coby Vernon Smith, John Burrell Smith, and Charles Laverne Cabbage. During the fall of 1967 and spring of 1968, it assumed the name of Black Organizing Project (BOP), with subsidiary cells known as Afro-American Brotherhood (AAB) at Owen College; Black Student Association (BSA) at Memphis State University; LeMoyne College Intercollegiate Chapter of the NAACP (LIC, NAACP) at LeMoyne College, Invaders, primarily consisting of high school students and school dropouts; and City Organizers, consisting of young nonstudent adults, all having a combined average membership of about one hundred. The ostensible purpose was to create pride in black identity, toteach black culture and black history, and obtain employment for young blacks.

On May 7, 1969, source one and source two advised that Black Organizing Project (BOP), beginning in the spring of 1968, degenerated into a group of approximately 30 to 35 young Memphis blacks, who increasingly adopted a philosophy of hatred of the white race, hatred of the capitalistic system, and hatred of all constituted legal authority, particularly law enforcement agencies. Theirs is a philosophy of nihilism and anarchy.

Both sources added that beginning in the summer of 1968, the Invaders became a dominant group. LIC, NAACP disbanded. AAB disbanded. BSA at Memphis State University became an autonomous organization with no current formal relationship with the Invaders, and the City Organizers ceased to exist.

Since June, 1968, approximately thirty Invaders have committed various local crimes, including arson, robbery, larceny, forgery, prostitution, narcotics violations, and shooting of police officer, as well as inciting to riot in public schools. Over 25 have been convicted for these offenses, most of them making bond and appealing convictions. For example, John Burrell Smith has been convicted of inciting a high school riot and possession of marijuana. Charles Laverne Cabbage has been convicted of carrying a pistol, third degree burglary, and refusal to report for Armed Forces induction.

Both sources added that these arrests and the attendant publicity have weakened the influence of the Invaders and caused them to be less vocal and less publicly contentious. Their membership is estimated at forty with only about twenty hard-core members. The Invaders have no financial resources of consequence which further restricts their activities. Sources one and two added that the Invaders primarily engage in psychological warfare by attempting to convince the community that they are far more powerful and potentially violent than is actually the case. Sources one and two advised that on occasion the Invaders refer to their group as the BOP but actually the only active cell is the Invaders.

RE: INVADERS

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

FD-36 (Rev. 12-13-56)
RECLASSIFICATION AUTHORITY DERIVED FROM:
FBI AUTOMATIC DECLASSIFICATION GUIDE
DATE 03 09 2012

F B I

Date: 8/26/69

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plain text or code)

Via AIRTEL AIR MAIL
(Priority or Method of Mailing)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (157-8460)

FROM: SAC, MEMPHIS (157-1067) (P)

SUBJECT: INVADERS
RM

(OO: Memphis)

Re Bureau airtel 8/20/69.

Enclosed herewith for the Bureau are 11 copies, and for Little Rock 9 copies, of a LHM dated and captioned as above.

2 - Bureau (Encs. 11)(RM)
3 - Little Rock (Encs. 9) (RM)
19 - Memphis
1 - 157-1067 (Invaders)
1 - 157-1258 [redacted]
1 - 157-2091 (Committee for Peaceful Coexistence. Forrest City, Ark.)
1 - 170-1164 [redacted]
1 - 170-70-SUB (ME 338-R)
1 - 157-1168 (Racial Situation, Tenn.)
1 - 157-1563 [redacted]
1 - 157-1714
1 - 157-1472
1 - 157-2110
2 - 157-New (
1 - 157-1611
1 - 157-2098
1 - 157-1662
1 - 157-1638
1 - 170-1240
1 - 66-1687-SUB (a) (Dissemination)
1 - 157-2090 [redacted]

WHL:cjs
(24)

SEARCHED
SERIALIZED Hne
INDEXED
FILED Hne

170-70-Sub - [redacted]

FBI-Withers-1627

Approved: Robert G. Jensen / M Sent _____ M Per _____
Special Agent in Charge

Extra copies are being furnished Little Rock for dissemination to the U. S. Attorney, U. S. Secret Service, and military intelligence in the Little Rock area.

Copies of the LHM are being furnished U. S. Attorney, U. S. Secret Service, both Memphis, and to regional offices of military intelligence covering Memphis.

A report is being prepared by Memphis concerning the Invaders.

Sources utilized in the enclosed LHM are as follows:

Source one is [redacted]

Source two is [redacted]

Source three is [redacted]

Source four is [redacted]

Source five is [redacted]

Source six is [redacted]

Source seven is [redacted]

[redacted]

Several recent, in depth interviews have been held with former Invaders such as RUFUS HENDERSON, SHIRLEY YOUNG McFARLAND, AARON McFARLAND, MICHAEL JEROME STARKS, MARY HOLMAN MARSHALL, aka, Mrs. EDDIE MARSHALL, JUANITA MILLER, all who claim to be no longer active. In addition, the Intelligence Bureau of the Memphis PD has interviewed several recent Invaders such as CARL ARMSTRONG, HELEN BRIDGES, COBY VERNON SMITH, FRANK MITCHELL, MELVIN SMITH, as well as CACHEATUH SMITH, who refused to furnish any information of value.

FBI-Withers-1628

With regard to LOUIS WELCH, Memphis has set forth leads for Chicago and Atlanta to attempt to locate and interview WELCH in an effort to clarify his alleged connection with the Black Panther Party.

The following Invaders are on the Security Index and Agitator Index:

CHARLES LAVERNE CABBAGE
COBY VERNON SMITH
JOHN BURRELL SMITH
MELVIN SMITH
LANCE WATSON
Former Invader JOHN HENRY FERGUSON

The enclosed LHM is classified "CONFIDENTIAL" due to the necessity of protecting sources of continuing value to the internal security of the U. S.

LEADS:

THE MEMPHIS DIVISION

AT MEMPHIS, TENNESSEE

Will continue to follow and report pertinent activities of Invaders.

FBI-Withers-1629

FD-35 (Rev. 12-13-56)

DECLASSIFICATION AUTHORITY DERIVED FROM:
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DATE 03 08 2012

FBI

Date: 8/26/69

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plain text or code)

Via AIRTEL _____
(Priority or Method of Mailing)

TO: SAC, LITTLE ROCK

FROM: SAC, MEMPHIS (157-1067) (157-2091) (P)

INVADERS, aka.
RM
(Memphis file 157-1067)

COMMITTEE FOR PEACEFUL COEXISTENCE,
FORREST CITY, ARKANSAS,
RM
(Memphis file 157-2091)

FBI Withers 1630

On 8/17/69, Sunday, [redacted] orally advised SA WILLIAM H. LAWRENCE as follows:

RAYMOND L. LEE, a "sometimes Invader" during the Summer of 1969 and who was with LANCE WATSON and the Invaders in Forrest City, Arkansas, 6/17 and 6/20/69, and who goes with "part-time Invader" SHIRLEY KNOX, commented about recent arrest of three so-called Invaders in Forrest City, Arkansas, all three being charged with Robbery and Stabbing of a 63-year-old Forrest City grocer. They were as follows:

3 - Little Rock (RM)
(2 - 157-Committee for Peaceful Coexistence)
(1 - 157-Invaders)
16 - Memphis
(1 - 157-1067, Invaders)
(1 - 157-2091, Committee for Peaceful Coexistence)
(1 - 170-70 Sub, ME 338-R)
(1 - 157-1472, [redacted]
(1 - 157-2110,
(1 - 157-2092,
(1 - 157-1611,
(2 - 157-NEW,
(1 - 170-1257
(1 - 170-1240
(1 - 157-1665
(1 - 66-1687 Sub A, Dissemination)

SEARCHED _____
SERIALIZED None
INDEXED None

WHL:gmb
(19)

170-70 Sub -

Approved: _____ Sent _____ M Per _____
Special Agent in Charge

EDDIE MORRIS, JR., aka Eddie Tate, Jr.;
PEGGY ANN SMITH, aka Peggy Ann Tate, Mrs. Eddie Tate;
JOHNNY HARPER or HOPPER, not previously known
by name by [redacted]

LEE said they stabbed the storekeeper with a pocket knife and took $55.00 from him.

LEE said he was not surprised they had done so as he had been anticipating that some of the Invaders would commit some crimes as none of them were working.

(NOTE: On 8/19/69 [redacted] said that the person arrested with MORRIS was JOHNNY HARPER, male Negro, age about 17-18, lives in Orange Mound area of Memphis, goes to Melrose High School, Memphis, is 5 feet 7 inches tall, and heavy in build. He began hanging out with the Invaders in May and June, 1969, after they began loafing in the Black Arcade, 241 Linden Avenue. He also loafed at the Black Arcade after it moved to 300 East McLemore. He is a friend of and follower of "sometimes Invader" SHERMAN YATES. JOHNNY HARPER, according to [redacted] went to Forrest City with JOE CALHOUN YATES and he said he was undecided as to whether or not to return to Memphis.

Comments of BENNIE LANG, aka Langs

[redacted] advised that Memphis artist BENNIE LANG, aka Langs, just told him that he had been in West Memphis and Forrest City, Arkansas, arranging to sell black-oriented souvenirs for the planned 8/20/69 West Memphis to Little Rock, Arkansas, march sponsored by the Committee for Peaceful Coexistence, Forrest City, Arkansas, headed by Rev. CATO BROOKS.

LANG said a male Negro from East Arkansas, named (FNU) WHITFIELD, a Cornell University student and who was active in the Spring of 1969 black riots at Cornell University, has been doing some organizational work for the 8/20/69 scheduled march. He said that one BOBBY BROWN of the Urban League, Little Rock, Arkansas, has also been working on plans for the march, getting black support from all over the State of Arkansas.

FBI-Witners-1631

LANG or LANGS predicted Hazen, Arkansas, on U. S. Highway 70, about half way between West Memphis and Little Rock, would be the biggest obstacle of the march, as Hazen has a lot of hot-headed white "red necks" who might try to give the marchers trouble.

This information was orally furnished to the Intelligence Bureau, Memphis Police Department.

LEADS:

LITTLE ROCK DIVISION

AT FORREST CITY, ARKANSAS

Will, if not already done so, furnish details and personal history data re arrestees EDDIE MORRIS, JR., aka Tate; PEGGY ANN TATE, nee Peggy Ann Smith; and JOHNNY HARPER, or HOPPER, regarding their recent arrest for stabbing and robbing a 63-year-old merchant.

MEMPHIS DIVISION

AT MEMPHIS, TENN.

FBI Withers 1632

DECLASSIFICATION AUTHORITY DERIVED FROM
FBI AUTOMATIC DECLASSIFICATION GUIDE
DATE 12-23-2012

SAC (157-1067) 9/26/69

SA WILLIAM H. LAWRENCE

INVADERS

On 9/18/69 [redacted] advised SA WILLIAM H. LAWRENCE that LANCE "SWEET WILLIE WINE" WATSON, Prime Minister of the Invaders, which for all practical purposes is now defunct and exists in name only and primarily is a publicity vehicle for LANCE "SWEET WILLIE WINE" WATSON, is still living with his mother, ROWENA BALLARD, 1709 South Parkway East, Memphis, Tennessee. WATSON has allegedly appointed MICHAEL JEROME STARKS as his assistant. STARKS is a moocher and a parasite who is a virtual "movement pimp," will not work, merely likes to roam around and live off the earnings of other people. STARKS was last known to be living with the "good-time girl," JUANITA MILLER, in her apartment on Richmond Street, address previously furnished by informant. STARKS and WATSON now claim that they will soon start a program called "Operation Breakfast," which they are patterning after the breakfast program for needy children initiated by the Black Panthers on the West Coast. They hope to obtain publicity in this regard, and informant will be alert for any evidences that they are committing any extortion on merchants or others in the community in an effort to raise money for this program.

Informant stated that STARKS is not too smart, that in fairness STARKS is not one who is violence prone and he would rather avoid a fight and does not want to go to jail.

1-157-1067
1-170-70-Sub - ME 338-R
1-157-1258 - [redacted]
1-157-1629 -
1-157-1675 -
1-157-1508 -
1-157-957 -
1-157-1019 -
1-170-114 -
1-66-1687-Sub-A - Dissemination
WHL:wp
(10)

170-70-Sub-[redacted]

WATSON claims in recent conversations with informant that about two weeks ago he had an audience with the soul singer, JAMES BROWN, male Negro, when the latter, who is nationally known, appeared at the Mid-South Coliseum.

He claims that JAMES BROWN furnished some of his original bond money, for which he is now out on the streets as a result of his charges of carrying a pistol and committing extortion at the Jump and Grab Grocery Store, both in November and December, 1968. A girlfriend of JAMES BROWN has verified this, namely one VERNICE STARKS, who works for the Memphis Job Corps. Informant pointed out that VERNICE STARKS is a rather attractive female Negro and is a good-time girl who usually dates JAMES BROWN when he comes to town. In fact, she has flown over the country with him as a girlfriend in the past.

Informant advised that Dr. CHARLES L. DINKINS, Director of Development of LeMoyne-Owen College, Memphis, recently advised him that the Urban League in Gary, Indiana, had written to DINKINS regarding a character reference on the part of DINKINS for JOHN BURRELL SMITH, one of the original Invaders who allegedly is now looking for a job in Gary, Indiana.

DINKINS told informant that he replied that JOHN B. SMITH owed money to the school and for that reason he could not send any transcript to the Urban League.

DINKINS stated that CHARLES BALLARD, one of the original Invaders, is now a student at LeMoyne-Owen College, and on 9/16/69 [redacted] saw BALLARD on the LeMoyne campus carrying school books. BALLARD claimed he was a student, and claimed that his close associate, CHARLES HARRINGTON, also a former Invader, is now working some place in Memphis and hopes to enroll in Arkansas A&M College, Fort Smith, Arkansas, in the spring of 1970. Informant added that rumor is that JAMES MORRIS LAWSON, JR., Pastor of Centenary Methodist Church, a controversial Negro civil rights leader in Memphis, may momentarily announce that he is returning to Vanderbilt University, either as a graduate student or as a faculty member.

FBI-Withers-1634

The above intelligence information is being furnished the Memphis Police Department, Intelligence Bureau.

It is recommended that the Agent to whom this case is assigned write the Indianapolis Office and have the Gary Resident Agency verify that JOHN BURRELL SMITH is in fact in Gary, Indiana.

FBI-Withers-1635

REPRODUCTION OF MATERIAL FORM

CONGRESSIONAL INQUIRY UNIT

DATE 7/20/78

The following material has been reproduced for excising and review at FBIHQ and/or delivery to the House Select Committee on Assassinations:
(See Bufile 62-117290; re HSCA request dated 7/5/78)

FILE NO. memphis 170-70

SECTION [redacted]

SERIALS [redacted] through [redacted]

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DATE 03-[illegible]

OPTIONAL FORM NO. 10
MAY 1962 EDITION
GSA GEN. REG. NO. 27
5010-106

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : SAC [redacted] DATE: 10/6/69

FROM : SA WILLIAM H. LAWRENCE

SUBJECT: [redacted]
RM

On 9/4/69 [redacted] advised that [redacted]

[redacted]

[redacted]

1 - [redacted]
1 - 170-70 Sub (ME 338-R)
1 - [redacted]
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170-70-Sub-[redacted]
SEARCHED ____ INDEXED ____
SERIALIZED ____ FILED ____
OCT 1969
FBI — MEMPHIS

WHL:gmh
(14)

FBI-Withers-1198

MS

The above information is being furnished to the Intelligence Bureau of the Memphis Police Department.

DECLASSIFICATION AUTHORITY DERIVED FROM
FBI AUTOMATIC DECLASSIFICATION GUIDE
DATE 03-09-[illegible]

MAC (157-1067) 10/7/69

SA WILLIAM H. LAWRENCE

INVADERS
RM

On 9/25/69 and 10/3/69 [redacted] advised that LANCE "SWEET WILLIE WINE" WATSON, Prime Minister of the Invaders, is actually a con man; is not seriously interested in any particular movements; and is definitely not going to engage in any violence himself or to advocate any violence. He stated that WINE has a "racket" which he is attempting to exploit and has been ever since he returned from Forrest City, Arkansas, on or about 8/25/69. It is known as "Operation Breakfast" which WINE is obviously patterning after the Black Panther Operation Breakfast program in Oakland, California, whereby the Black Panthers virtually extorted food and money from merchants in black areas in order that they might furnish free breakfasts to ghetto children in an effort to win support to their cause and to cover up some of their illegal activities.

Informant furnished on 10/2/69 copies of a throwaway which WINE has had printed at the Johnson Printing Company advertising his operation breakfast. One copy of this throwaway is attached to each copy of this memo. Informant also furnished some printed cards reading "Help Operation Breakfast," one copy each is attached to this memo. WINE also had these cards printed at Johnson Printing Company. Informant stated that WINE has gone to the Taylor Paper Company and gotten 2 large cartons of quart-size icecream containers, is taping the signs "Help Operation Breakfast" thereto, and is placing them in various Negro churches, beer joints, cafes, and business establishments throughout Memphis, hoping to collect money for his program. WINE has stated that if he gets enough money he will actually start an "operation Breakfast" program in the Foote Homes area of Memphis which borders on Vance and Lauderdale, operated by the Memphis Housing Authority. Informant does not feel that

1 - 157-1067
1 - 170-70- Sub (ME 338-R)
1 - 157-1258 [redacted]
1 - 157-1423 (BLACK UNITED FRONT)
WHL/aop
(4)

170-70-Sub [redacted]

Lawrence

the program will be successful and he feels it is merely publicity stunt on the part of WINE to gain good will and also to help buffer the financial status of WINE. He feels that WINE will spend this money primarily for his own personal use.

FBI-Withers-1637

"OPERATION BREAKFAST"

Help us Feed the Black Kids in School

We Need Your Help and Donations

Send Your Donation To:

OPERATION BREAKFAST

1709 So. Parkway East

PHONE 272-3172

Sponsored by

Sweet Willie Wine

And the Black United Front

FBI-Withers-1638

DECLASSIFICATION AUTHORITY DERIVED FROM
FBI AUTOMATIC DECLASSIFICATION GUIDE
DATE: 03-02-2011

OPTIONAL FORM NO. 10
MAY 1962 EDITION
GSA GEN. REG. NO. 27
5010-106

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : SAC [redacted]

DATE: 10/15/69

FROM : SA WILLIAM H. LAWRENCE

SUBJECT: [redacted]
RM

On the night of Monday, 9/29/69, the writer heard [redacted]

1- [redacted]
1-
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1-
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1- [redacted]
1- [redacted] 170-70-Sub - [redacted]
1- [redacted]
1-

1-170-70-Sub - ME 338-R
1- [redacted] Dissemination
WHL:wp
(11)

INDEXED
SERIALIZED FILED
OCT 1 1969
FBI—MEMPHIS

FBI-Withers-1200

ME

This information is being furnished to the Intelligence Unit, Memphis Police Department.

INSP. [redacted]

DE[redacted]
PTLM.
PTIM.
PTLW. [redacted]

DECLASSIFICATION AUTHORITY DERIVED FROM
FBI AUTOMATIC DECLASSIFICATION GUIDE
DATE 03 13 2012

October 15, 1969

L. G. & W. SIT-IN:
[redacted]

Oct. 14, 1969 at approximately 4:00 PM the above Intelligence Officers went to the L. G. & W. headquarters at Madison and Third and observed [redacted] sitting in [redacted] (FNU) [redacted]

Two (UNSUBS) were with [redacted]

#1. (UNSUB) MN, 5'11", 180 lbs., 25 yrs., medium complexion, Afro-hair, wearing a black beret with "Captain Bars" on the front, black slacks, and a black jacket with "Captain Bars" on the right lapel.

#2. (UNSUB) MN, 6'1", 175 lbs., 27 yrs., medium complexion, Afro-hair, side burns.

[redacted] drove around the L.G.&W building in a 1963 Cadillac, Lic. [redacted]

State representative, [redacted] was an on-looker at the L.G. & W. building.

4:45 PM [redacted] and [redacted] interviewed [redacted]

[redacted] interviewed [redacted]

(FNU) [redacted] FN, and an unidentified FN interviewed [redacted]

5:00 PM There were approximately forty (40) persons demonstrating. The following person s had joined.

[redacted] (FNU) [redacted] [redacted]

FBI-Withers-1202

5:45 PM Ptl.s. [redacted] and PTLM. [redacted] were unsuccessful in getting [redacted] to leave the building. After [redacted] repeatedly refused to leave the building INSP. [redacted] notified CAPT. [redacted] that the arrest would have to be made. At 6:05 PM CAPT. [redacted] Car [redacted] and Ptlm. [redacted] came inside and CAPT. [redacted] asked [redacted] to leave the building several times. She refused again. CAPT. [redacted] placed her under arrest at 6:13 PM and asked her to get up and walk to the squad car. [redacted] refused to do this. At this time CAPT. [redacted] ordered [redacted] placed on a stretcher and she was carried to the Patrol Wagon on Third St. and transported Headquarters, arriving at approximately 6:25 PM.

INSP. [redacted] instructed PTLM. [redacted] to transport the complainant, [redacted] Memphis L. G. & W. employee, to Headquarters to sign a warrant. [redacted] was taken to the Station, LT. [redacted] where a warrant was issued in the name of [redacted] and was signed by [redacted] was then returned to his office and advised to report to Division II of City Court at 9:00 AM on Wednesday, Oct. 15, 1969.

Approximately twenty-five (25) demonstrators, including [redacted] and (FNU) [redacted] marched to the east side of the Police Station protesting [redacted] arrest.

REP. [redacted] observed to drive around the police station.

[redacted] and [redacted] talked to the Desk Sergeant for a short while; they left [redacted] in jail overnight.

CC:

1--Director
1--Chief
1--L.G. & W.
File

HAE:MM/fo

INSP. [redacted] DET. [redacted]

CLASSIFIED BY AUTHORITY OF DIVISION FIVE
FBI AUTOMATIC DECLASSIFICATION GUIDE
DATE 03 19 2012

OCTOBER 30, 1969

[redacted]

The following is a report from [redacted] for Oct. 29, 1969.

LeMoyne-Owen College officials voted to have Monday, Nov. 3, 1969, BLACK MONDAY, as a Holiday.

8:00 PM Source went to the [redacted] where [redacted]

Those present at the [redacted] were:

[redacted]

[redacted]

[redacted]

[redacted]

[redacted]

[redacted]

[redacted]

[redacted]

[redacted]

[redacted]

[redacted]

[redacted]

Source then returned to the [redacted]

[redacted]

[redacted]

[redacted]

[redacted]

[redacted]

CC:

1--Director
1--Chief
File

JCD/fo

DECLASSIFICATION AUTHORITY DERIVED FROM
FBI AUTOMATIC DECLASSIFICATION GUIDE
DATE 03-09-2012

SAC [redacted] 12/18/69

SA WILLIAM H. LAWRENCE

[redacted]

On 12/15/69 Det. [redacted] Intelligence Bureau, MPD, advised that an unknown Negro, who has since been identified by the MPD as [redacted] resides at [redacted] and is connected with the [redacted] He drives a 1967 blue over [redacted] that [redacted] was one of the ring leaders urging young students to commit various acts of vandalism on that particular day.

[redacted] furnished a photograph of [redacted] taken 10/10/69.

The 1969 City Directory shows [redacted] wife [redacted] occupation [redacted] [redacted] residence [redacted]

On 12/15/69 [redacted] Memphis, Tenn., advised that [redacted] male Negro, born [redacted] residence [redacted] has been employed as a [redacted] at the [redacted] of the [redacted] since 6/69, that he is still employed, 6'3½" tall, 166 lbs., and is temporarily on sick leave. He has a long record of injuries and is now in the process of claiming a permanent disability claim against the [redacted] and that his file is currently tied up in compensation proceedings. [redacted] stated that as soon as the file is available he will obtain it for review concerning personal history data and other background which might be of pertinence in further identifying [redacted]

2 - [redacted]
1 - 170-70-Sub (HE 338-R)
1 - [redacted]
1 - [redacted]

170-70 [redacted]

WHL:mmr
(8)

[redacted]

b7D-1

RECOMMENDATION:

It is recommended this case be made pending b6-4
and assigned to an Agent to maintain contact with [redacted] b7C-4
in order to review his file if and when it is available.

FBI-Withers-1208

DECLASSIFICATION AUTHORITY DERIVED FROM
FBI AUTOMATIC DECLASSIFICATION GUIDE
DATE 03 09 2012

REPRODUCTION OF MATERIAL FORM

CONGRESSIONAL INQUIRY UNIT

DATE 7/20/78

The following material has been reproduced for excising and review at FBIHQ and/or delivery to the House Select Committee on Assassinations:
(See Bufile 62-117290; re HSCA request dated ____)

FILE NO. 176-76

SECTION [redacted]

SERIALS [redacted] through [redacted]

(except following serials not in file on this date:)

EBF or BULKY: ____

Number of copies made 1 By P.C.

RETAIN THIS FORM AS TOP SERIAL

DECLASSIFICATION AUTHORITY DERIVED FROM
DATE 03-04-2012

OPTIONAL FORM NO. 10
MAY 1962 EDITION
GSA GEN. REG. NO. 27

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : SAC (157-1067) DATE: 1/27/70

FROM : SA WILLIAM H. LAWRENCE

SUBJECT: INVADERS
RM

On 1/15/70 [redacted] advised SA's HOWELL S. LOWE and WILLIAM H. LAWRENCE as follows:

Former Invader secretary CACHEATUH UNDRE SMITH, who, in the summer of 1969, gave birth to a daughter fathered by Invader Prime Minister LANCE "SWEET WILLIE WINE" WATSON, has become completely disenchanted with the Invaders and with WINE. WATSON has refused to take care of his child, the burden resting on CACHEATUH and her mother with whom she lives in South Memphis near Carver High School. She has been associating socially with a no-good Beale St. character known as JACK BENNY, who plays records at the Blue Stallion, a Negro night club on Beale St., but has become apparently disenchanted with BENNY.

CACHEATUH claims that she now wants to make an honest living and would like to return to her old employment with the South Central Bell Telephone Co. in Memphis but feels that she has such a bad record with said company that they would be reluctant to rehire her; that she has been talking with

1 - 157-1067 (Invaders)
1 - 170-70-Sub (ME 338-R)
1 - 157-1563 [redacted]
1 - 157-1205
1 - 157-166 (SCLC)
1 - 157-1823 [redacted]
1 - 157-
1 - 157-1258
1 - 157-1629
1 - 157-2321
1 - 100-4888
1 - 157-1111
1 - 157-
1 - 157-1516 (AFSCME)
1 - 157-2114 [redacted]
1 - 157-1578
1 - 157-2269 (Mobilizers, Inc.)
1 - 157-1380 [redacted]
1 - 157-1168 (Racial Situation in Tennessee)
1 - 66-1687-Sub-A (Dissemination)
HSL:mnr
(20)

170-70-Sub
SEARCHED INDEXED
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JAN 28 1970
FBI — MEMPHIS

FBI-Withers-1210

representatives of the Memphis PD Community Relations Service, specifically with Det. BEN WHITNEY and that WHITNEY has promised to intercede on her behalf with the phone company in an effort to regain her job.

With regard to WATSON, according to the informant, he is still living with his lieutenant MICHAEL JEROME STARKS at the Trumpet Motel on South Third St. The Invaders, for all practical purposes is a dead organization and is existing in name only and it is what WINE says it is at any given time. WINE stated he was trying to get someone to fund him or subsidize him to go to New York City on or about 1/15/70 to participate in a mass meeting and march there commemorating the birthday of MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR., wherein certain Negroes, possibly including Black Panthers, would appear at the United Nations to charge that the U. S. Government is engaged in a series of genocidal actions in its treatment of certain blacks in the United States, particularly members of the Black Panther Party.

MICHAEL JEROME STARKS now has a full beard and on 1/13/70 was with TONI VANDERBILT, female Negro, his fiancee from Jackson, Tenn., who in the spring of 1969 attended Sienna College and who, according to informant, is always extremely well dressed, always appears to have plenty of money and is one who is extremely intelligent and extremely conversant with virtually every militant black nationalist group in the United States. Informant stated that he felt that TONI VANDERBILT's activities would bear watching.

Informant added that a public relations man of SCLC, an Atlanta white male, by the name of OFFBERG (phonetic) recently commented that SCLC is extremely hard up financially and has lost any cause or issue which would gain national recognition and the subsequent contribution of funds by various groups, foundations, and individuals and that for this reason the SCLC is beginning to back and support the Black Panther Party which currently is receiving more publicity throughout the news and television media than any other organization.

FBI-Witners-1211

With regard to JAMES LUTHER BEVEL, recent director of Non-Violent Education, SCLC, last known to be a student at Vanderbilt University, Divinity School, Nashville, Tenn., BEVEL has been recently a close associate of the Mobilizers, Inc., Memphis, Tenn., headed by CORDELL JACKSON and HERMAN L. O'NEIL and that Rev. BEN L. HOOKS, who for several years has been on the national board of SCLC recently commented that BEVEL has weird sexual "hangups" and commented that following the assassination of Dr. MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR., former president of SCLC who was killed in Memphis, Tenn., 4/4/68, that BEVEL had gone to Los Angeles, Calif., made a speech in a large church there in which he shocked many of those present by using extreme vulgarities and obscenities in his speech.

With regard to the newly formed Ad-Hoc Committee to investigate police brutality in Memphis formed by the Memphis chapter of the NAACP and consisting of 2 Negro Memphis city councilmen, namely FRED DAVIS and Rev. JAMES L. NETTERS, along with former Criminal Court Judge BEN L. HOOKS, Negro, and former NAACP president JESSE L. TURNER, Negro, as well as city councilman and state legislator J. O. PATTERSON, JR., Negro. Informant stated that this group will definitely push its investigation regarding alleged brutality on the part of the Memphis PD but informant feels that due to the influence of HOOKS and TURNER and FRED DAVIS that it will attempt to be as fair as possible for any all-Negro group and that it will continue its efforts despite the fact that Memphis Police Director FRANK C. HOLLOMAN has stated he has no intention of cooperating with any sort of citizens committee in this regard.

LANCE WATSON appears to be getting all of his money by bumming. He is spending considerable time with LOUELLA JACKSON, female Negro, former student at LeMoyne-Owen College, daughter of prominent Negro bail bondsman HOWARD JACKSON, and informant pointed out that uniquely HOWARD JACKSON has been most lavish with his children, sent one of his daughters to Europe and in all probability will give LOUELLA as much as $50 or $75 a week, much of which will go to LANCE WATSON.

Informant added that recently a Negro told him that a white man who is foreman at the Columbia Mutual Tower Building, also known as Lincoln American Building, Court Ave. at Main St., and who is foreman of the char crew, made up of Negroes,

FBI-Withers-1212

is carrying a pistol and flaunts it with the Negro help. This was mentioned to MAXINE SMITH, Executive Secretary, NAACP, who indicated that WILLIAM W. GOODMAN, prominent Memphis white attorney and former owner of the American Finishing Co., a multi-millionaire who owns much property in Memphis, and who is the father of WILLIAM WOLF GOODMAN, JR., (former purported SDS member and operator of the hippie clothing store Electric Outlet around 1810 Poplar Ave.) owns this building and that his daughter MARY HOHENBERG, aka Mrs. JULIAN HOHENBERG, would tell her father about this and he would look into it. (It is noted that MALCOLM LEVI, who apparently worked at the Electric Outlet operated by WILLIAM WOLF GOODMAN, JR., has been arrested twice during the week ending 1/17/70 by federal and city authorities on charges of possessing large amounts of marijuana.)

Informant feels that the SCLC which is sponsoring a mass memorial for MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR., in the north hall of the Auditorium the night of 1/15/70 used poor judgment in renting the north hall, which will seat approximately 6,000 people because there will be very few people in attendance. He pointed out that very few ministers thus far have affiliated with the Memphis chapter of SCLC and that this will never become a mass organization until a large number of Negro ministers affiliate with it. It will primarily be a vehicle through which Local 1733, AFSCME, headed by JESSE EPPS, will exert pressure in an effort to organize industries and governmental agencies in Memphis for EPPS' union.

Informant added that Rev. MALCOM D. BLACKBURN, white male, native of Canada, pastor, Clayborn Temple AME Church, 280 Hernando, and who is prominent in the SCLC as well as the United Black Coalition and who is in the employ of Local 1733, is extremely close to Father WILLIAM GREENSPUN of St. Patrick's Church on Linden Ave., Memphis. [redacted] BLACKBURN has taken recent trips with GREENSPUN, for example they claim to have recently traveled to the state of Connecticut to allegedly attend the wedding of GREENSPUN's aged father.

Informant added that on or about 1/13/70 two members of the Mobilizers, Inc., Memphis, Tenn., WILLIAM DOUG RUBIN, who has recently been released from Collins Chapel Hospital after suffering from an automobile accident and who is still wearing a neck collar known as a "whiplash collar" and TOM NELSON and another small unidentified Mobilizer were in the

FBI-Withers-1213

Tri-State Bank, a Negro institution in Memphis, opening an account ostensibly for the Mobilizers, Inc. Informant was unable to ascertain the exact title of above mentioned bank account.

Informant added that it appears that the AFSCME union, Local 1733, is moving its living headquarters for key members and visitors from the Holiday Inn, Memphis, to the Albert Pick Hotel, a newly constructed hotel just north of the Civic Center in downtown Memphis.

Above information is being disseminated to the Intelligence Bureau of the Memphis, Tenn., PD.

OPTIONAL FORM NO. 10
MAY 1962 EDITION
GSA GEN. REG. NO. 27

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : SAC (157-1067) DATE: 1/28/70

FROM : SA WILLIAM H. LAWRENCE

SUBJECT: INVADERS
RM

On 1/20/70 and 1/21/70 [redacted] advised that he has been unable to learn anything in addition concerning the Saturday, 1/17/70 trip of Mobilizers, Inc., to Atlanta, Georgia, as to specific identities of the group. He did learn that WENDELL WITHERS, LeMoyne-Owen College student and son of prominent Negro photographer ERNEST C. WITHERS, had attended without the knowledge of his parents, but had since learned on 1/20/70 in talking with LANCE "SWEET WILLIE WINE" WATSON, Prime Minister of Invaders, and his Invader associates TYRONE McNAIRY and "COOT" McFADDEN, aka McFadda, that the Mobilizers group apparently traveled in two or more

1-157-1067
1-170-70-Sub - ME 338-R
1-157-166 - SCLC
1-157-2269 - Mobilizers, Inc.
1-157-1168 - Racial Situation in Tenn.
1-157-1258 [redacted]
1-157-2090
1-134-511
1-157-
1-157-1553
1-100-662 - NAACP
1-100-4295 - [redacted]
1-157-
1-157-
1-157-Dead
1-100-5303 - Millington GI Defense Committee
1-66-1687-Sub-A - Dissemination
WHL:wp
(17)

170-70-Sub [redacted]

SEARCHED ___ INDEXED ___
SERIALIZED ___ FILED ___
JAN 29 1970
FBI—MEMPHIS

rented cars or station wagons, ostensibly rented at one of the rental agencies in Memphis. They went to Atlanta for a workshop to be held over the week end of 1/17-18/70, and according to WINE and TYRONE McNAIRY, they planned thereafter to go on the road to such places as Nashville, Chicago, Baltimore, and Boston, hoping ultimately to organize young black militants throughout the eastern part of the United States to engage in some subsequent march on the United Nations to charge the United States Government with committing a concerted drive to commit genocide against the Negro race, specifically the Black Panther Party. This is an outgrowth of recent protests on the part of various prominent Negro leaders, including RALPH DAVID ABERNATHY, President of Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC), charging the Federal Government and specifically the U. S. Department of Justice of engaging in genocidal activities in concert with various local Police Departments concerning recent raids by local police on Black Panther headquarters. The culmination of this protest grew out of the recent shooting by members of the Chicago Police Department of two Black Panthers in Chicago, Illinois, one of them being the renowned Black Panther leader in Chicago, FRED HAMPTON.

Informant stated that the new Invader, COOT McFADDEN, is extremely well read, very verbose and articulate. He always has books with him and apparently is charging out books at Cossitt Library and was recently seen with a book the title of which is "100 Ways of Goodness" or "1000 Ways of Goodness." (Informant stated this might be a lead as to his true identity.) He recalled that McFADDEN had stated that he is from New York City and that his older brother had sent him to Memphis to work with LANCE WATSON, as the police were putting heat on people like himself in the New York City area.

Informant stated that TYRONE McNAIRY and WINE seem to know a lot about the local Mobilizers, Inc. He added that another interesting sidelight is the fact that ROY LEE TURKS, now in U. S. Army in Germany, and who recently sent out a form letter indicating that he is forming a black power group within the Army, is now in Memphis, Tennessee, and that Rev. P. L. ROWE, Negro minister, whose church TURKS allegedly attended, called recently, saying that he understood TURKS was in town and was attempting to get in touch with TURKS.

Informant added that LEROY CLARK, organizer, United Furniture Workers of America, currently President, Memphis Chapter, NAACP, is leaving Memphis momentarily to go to Washington, D. C., to be oriented by the U.S. Department of State. Thereafter CLARK, along with other unidentified labor leaders from the United States will be sent on a State Department sponsored tour of Brazil in South America. CLARK indicated that he would be gone for about one month.

WINE now hopes to gain publicity concerning this arrest. Informant noted that in Memphis City Court on the morning of 1/17/70, WINE was bound over to the State of Tennessee on a State charge of disorderly conduct, his bond being set at $250.

Informant also stated he had been able to obtain a photograph recently taken in early January, 1970, depicting MAXINE SMITH, Executive Secretary, NAACP, with the four Negro Marines currently being tried in court martial at the Naval Air Station, Millington, Tennessee, being tried on charges of inciting a riot at that base during the summer of 1969. Information concerning this trial has previously been set forth in Memphis file 100-5303, Millington GI Defense Committee file.

Information set forth in this memo has been furnished to the Intelligence Bureau, Memphis Police Department.

FBI Withers 1642

DECLASSIFICATION AUTHORITY DERIVED FROM:
FBI AUTOMATIC DECLASSIFICATION GUIDE
DATE: 05-04-2011

OPTIONAL FORM NO. 10
MAY 1962 EDITION
GSA GEN. REG. NO. 27

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO SAC [redacted] DATE: 3/5/70

FROM : SA HOWELL S. LOWE

SUBJECT: [redacted]
RM

On 3/2/70 Det. [redacted] Intelligence Unit, Memphis, Tenn., made available a copy of a report received by Det. [redacted] from Memphis PD undercover officer 501 for activities of captioned individual on 2/18-19/70. A copy of this report is being attached to each copy of this memo.

Attachment 1

1 - [redacted]
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1 - 170-70-Sub. ME 338-R
1 - [redacted]
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1 -
HSL:LF
(16)

170-70 Sub [redacted]

February 23, 1970

The following is a report from [redacted] for Wednesday Feb. 18 and Thursday Feb. 19, 1970.

At 7:00 pm Wednesday Feb. 18 [redacted]

SOURCE [redacted]

SOURCE [redacted]

SOURCE [redacted]

[redacted]

SOURCE [redacted]

On Thursday Feb. 19, 1970 at 7:45 pm. SOURCE [redacted]

CC:

1--Director
1--Chief
File

HAE/fo

FBI-Withers-1217

DECLASSIFICATION AUTHORITY DERIVED FROM
FBI AUTOMATIC DECLASSIFICATION GUIDE
DATE 06-04-2012

Memphis, Tennessee
May 27, 1970

Re: INVADERS, also known as
Black Organizing Project
RACIAL MATTERS

On May 7, 1969, a first source advised that a militant black nationalist group of young Memphis, Tennessee, Negroes, now known as Invaders, was originally formed in the Summer and Fall of 1967 by three Memphis Negroes, Coby Vernon Smith, John Burrell Smith, and Charles LaVerne Cabbage. During the Fall of 1967 and Spring of 1968, it assumed the name of Black Organizing Project (BOP), with subsidiary cells known as Afro-American Brotherhood (AAB) at Owen College; Black Student Association (BSA) at Memphis State University; LeMoyne Intercollegiate Chapter of the NAACP (LIC, NAACP) at LeMoyne College; Invaders, primarily consisting of high school students and school dropouts; and City Organizers, consisting of young nonstudent adults, all having a combined average membership of about one hundred. The ostensible purpose was to create pride in black identity, to teach black culture and black history, and obtain employment for young blacks.

On May 7, 1969, source one and source two advised that Black Organizing Project (BOP), beginning in the Spring of 1968, degenerated into a group of approximately 30 to 35 young Memphis blacks, who increasingly adopted a philosophy of hatred of the white race, hatred of capitalistic system, and all constituted legal authority, particularly law enforcement agencies. Theirs is a philosophy of nihilism and anarchy.

Both sources added that beginning in the Summer of 1968, the Invaders became a dominant group. LIC, NAACP disbanded. AAB disbanded. BSA at Memphis State University became an autonomous organization with no current formal relationship with the Invaders, and the City Organizers ceased to exist.

2 - Bureau
5 - Memphis
(1 - 100-3208)
(1 - 170-70 Sub - ME 338-R)
(1 - 157-1613) (MARRELL McCOLLOUGH)
(1 - 157-1067) (INVADERS, AKA)
(1 - 157-1647) [redacted]

SEARCHED
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(7)

FBI-Withers-1643

170-70- Sub [redacted]

INVADERS

Since June, 1968, approximately thirty Invaders have committed various local crimes, including arson, robbery, larceny, forgery, prostitution, narcotics violations, and shooting of police officer, as well as inciting to riot in public schools. Over 25 have been convicted for these offenses, most of them making bond and appealing convictions. For example, John Burrell Smith has been convicted of inciting a high school riot and possession of marijuana. Charles Laverne Cabbage has been convicted of carrying a pistol, third degree burglary, and refusal to report for Armed Forces induction.

Both sources added that these arrests and the attendant publicity have weakened the influence of the Invaders and caused them to be less vocal and less publicly contentious. The Invaders have no financial resources of consequence which further restricts their activities. Sources one and two advised that on occasion the Invaders refer to their group as the BOP but actually the only active cell is the Invaders.

On May 27, 1970, sources one, two, and three advised that the membership of the Invaders is estimated at approximately fifteen.

SOURCES:

Source one is MX 338-R (Memphis file 170-70).

Source two is MARRELL McCOLLOUGH, Patrolman, Memphis, Tennessee, Police Department, who, from February, 1968 until April, 1969 was an undercover operative of the Memphis Police Department in the Invaders. The Memphis Police Department has requested that his identity be protected until such time as his identity is publicly made known. (Memphis file 157-1613).

Source three is [redacted]

FBI-Withers-1644

DECLASSIFICATION AUTHORITY DERIVED FROM:
FBI AUTOMATIC DECLASSIFICATION GUIDE
DATE 03-01-2017

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MAY 1962 EDITION
GSA GEN. REG. NO. 27

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : SAC (157-1849) DATE: 6/4/70

FROM : SA HOWELL S. LOWE

SUBJECT: BLACK EGYPTIANS
RM

On 5/15/70 [redacted] advised that some of the Memphis Invaders planned to travel by car to East St. Louis, Illinois, on the weekend of 5/15-17/70 to learn about bombs and to talk to a representative of the Black Panther Party.

According to the informant, the following persons supposedly will make this trip:

TYRANT MOORE
WILLIE WARFORD
ROBERT ROACH
MELVIN SMITH.

These people supposedly will travel in a 1967 Datsun, light blue in color, four-door, Tenn. License KN-5955, which belongs to TYRANT MOORE. According to the informant, MAURICE LEWIS was supposedly to go on this trip to East St. Louis also but is in Nashville, Tennessee, and plans to be in Nashville the weekend of 5/15-17/70. JUANITA MILLER and GWENDOLYN WHITE have already departed Memphis for St. Louis, Mo., method of transportation unknown.

1 - 157-1849 (BLACK EGYPTIANS)
1 - 157-1067 (INVADERS)
1 - 157-1205 (BPP)
1 - 170-1233
1 - 157-2460
1 - 157-2537
1 - 157-1230
1 - 157-1351
1 - 157-1675
1 - 157-1806
1 - 170-70-Sub
1 - 66-1687 Sub A

[redacted]

170-70-Sub [redacted]

HSL/acp
(12)

FBI-Withers-1645

Above information has been orally disseminated to Lt. E. H. ARKIN, Intelligence Unit, Memphis, Tennessee Police Department.

FBI-Withers-1646

DECLASSIFICATION AUTHORITY DERIVED FROM:
FBI AUTOMATIC DECLASSIFICATION GUIDE
DATE 03 04 2012

SAC (157-1067) 6/9/70

SA HOWELL S. LOWE

INVADERS
RM

On 6/4/70 [redacted] made available to the writer a copy of a new paper "We The People", published by the Memphis Invaders, which according to the informant was put together by LANCE WATSON and WILLIE BELL. A copy of this paper is attached to each copy of this memorandum.

1 - 157-1067 (INVADERS)
1 - 157-1680 [redacted]
1 - 157-1258
1 - 170-70-Sub (ME 338-R)
1 - 157-2614 (WE THE PEOPLE)

HSL/acp
(5)

170-70-Sub [redacted]

SEARCHED ___ INDEXED ___
SERIALIZED ___ FILED ___
JUN 9 1970
FBI—MEMPHIS

Informant advised that the Baltimore-based organization known as "MAN" primarily sponsored by the Memphis Mobilizers has returned to Baltimore from New York City, and this organization hopes to move to Philadelphia and establish another MAN group in Philadelphia.

Informant advised JIM GAYLORD is running for Position 6, Shelby County Democratic Executive Committee, and on Monday evening, 7/27/70, GAYLORD appeared before a union meeting of Local 1733, AFSCME, and asked for their endorsement and support in his effort to win this position on the Shelby County Democratic Executive Committee. He stated to this assembled group that if he were elected to this position, he would immediately resign the position and turn it over to a Negro inasmuch as he felt Negroes should have more positions in county government and he is in complete sympathy with the discrimination problem the Negro has in modern-day society.

Informant advised that the Negro female known as "GIGI," who has taken part in Invader organization activities in recent weeks has the real name of GEORGIA or GEORGIANNA HEGGIE. She is a native of Union City, Tenn., is 26 to 28 years of age, finished high school in Union City, has two children in Union City and is presently on welfare. According to informant, GEORGIA HEGGIE lives at 541 Vance Ave., Memphis, and is employed as a cook at a restaurant on Jefferson Ave. directly across the street from the side exit of Lowenstein's Department Store.

RECOMMENDATION:

[redacted]

Informant advised that MARY L. CAMPBELL, Negro female, is also running as a candidate for the Democratic Executive Committee, Position 2. Informant furnished a photograph of MARY L. CAMPBELL. Informant advised that WILLIAM DELANEY and WILLIE BELL plan to leave Memphis in the Volkswagen bus belonging to DELANEY on Friday, 7/31/70, and travel to Little Rock, Ark., where they intend to make an effort to rent the War Memorial Stadium at Little Rock to hold a rock festival sponsored by the Invader organization sometime in August 1967. In addition, LANCE WATSON

FBI-Withers-1219

intends to travel to West Memphis, Ark., on Friday, 7/31/70, to deliver a speech backing the candidacy of WILLIAM E. GREER, a Negro militant, in his efforts to secure a political position in Arkansas. This information was telephonically furnished to the Little Rock Office on 7/29/70.

Informant advised that ESTER HURT has a teaching position at Douglass High School and works at a desk job during the summer at Mahalia Jackson's Chicken Outlet headquarters on Parkway. Informant stated in his opinion ESTER HURT is no longer considered to be a black militant.

Informant advised that ALAN FUSON, MICHAEL WELCH, MAURICE LEWIS and JANICE PAYNE have been holding meetings at Clayborn Temple urging Negroes to support the Memphis Committee Against Repression, which is the action arm of the Memphis YWLL group headed by MICHAEL WELCH.

Informant advised there has been no activity on the part of the SCLC and NAACP in recent weeks at Memphis concerning the racial situation.

[redacted]

Informant advised in his opinion the Negro community is calm with little likelihood of any violence erupting at Memphis in the immediate future. He stated BUDDY EPSTEIN has returned to California to practice law, and the CBS Television Network is producing a documentary film at Memphis concerning police brutality.

FBI-Withers-1220

DECLASSIFICATION AUTHORITY DERIVED FROM
DATE 07-24-2012

OPTIONAL FORM NO. 10
MAY 1962 EDITION
GSA GEN. REG. NO. 27

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : SAC (157-1067) DATE: 8/10/70

FROM : SA HOWELL S. LOWE

SUBJECT: INVADERS
RM

On 8/5/70 [redacted] advised that the Invaders organization is now defunct and that, according to WILLIE WINE, the Invaders organization has split into two individual distinct groups, one led by WINE known as the "We the People" and one led by MELVIN SMITH using the name "Peoples Revolutionary Party." Informant stated that there is some cooperation between the two groups and that several of the people who attend "We the People" meetings also attend meetings of the Peoples Revolutionary Party, but the leadership of the two groups does not agree, and the Peoples Revolutionary Party closely follows the Black Panther Party outline.

Informant advised that ESTHER HURT is presently working in the business office at Mahalia Jackson's.

Informant furnished a one-page throw-away concerning the 7/25/70 march sponsored by "We the People." Copies of this throw-away are attached to copies of this memo designated for the files concerning LANCE WATSON and "We the People."

1-157-1067
170-70-Sub - ME 338-R
1-157-1258 - [redacted]
1-157-2614 - We the People
1-157-1230 - [redacted]
1-157-2662 - Peoples Revolutionary Party
1-157-1205 - Black Panther Party
1-157-1900 - [redacted]
1-100-5211 -
1-157-1351 -
1-157-4708 -
1-100-4398 -
1-157-2223 -
1-157-1587 -
HSL:wp
(14)

170-70-Sub
SEARCHED INDEXED
SERIALIZED FILED
AUG 11 1970
FBI — MEMPHIS

Informant advised that BURTON LEE EPSTEIN has returned to California to practice law.

Informant advised that in connection with a Genocide meeting held at Clayborn Temple on 8/2/70 MAURICE LEWIS was attempting to raise money to pay for the transportation of two Black Panthers who were to speak at this genocide conference.

Informant advised that two Black Panthers, names unknown, did speak at this conference on 8/2/70. According to the informant, these two Black Panthers were from Winston Salem, North Carolina.

Informant advised that KATHY ROOP and MIKE WELCH were introduced to PEGGY VITTITOW by the informant. These three people had never met before but in the conversation stated that they had been in frequent contact telephonically.

Informant advised that ANITA CUSTARD's husband plans to teach in the Memphis school system in the coming school year. His name is JOE HOLLY.

FBI Withers 1649

DECLASSIFICATION AUTHORITY DERIVED FROM
FBI AUTOMATIC DECLASSIFICATION GUIDE
DATE 03-04-2012

SAC [redacted] 9/29/70

SA HOWELL S. LOWE

[redacted]

On 9/21/70 [redacted]

Attachment 1

1 - [redacted]
1 - [redacted]
1 - [redacted]
1 - 170-70-Sub, ME 338-R
HSL:LF
(4)

170-70-[redacted]

DECLASSIFICATION AUTHORITY DERIVED FROM:
FBI AUTOMATIC DECLASSIFICATION GUIDE
DATE 03-05-2012

[redacted]

[redacted]

SEPT. 18, 1970

[redacted]

[redacted]

[redacted]

[redacted]

[redacted]

[redacted]

[redacted]

CC:
1--Director
1--Chief
File

JCD/fo

DECLASSIFICATION AUTHORITY DERIVED FROM:
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DATE 12-09-2012

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FILE NO. 176-70 [redacted]

SECTION [redacted]

SERIALS [redacted] through [redacted]

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DATE 02-2

OPTIONAL FORM NO. 10
MAY 1962 EDITION
GSA FPMR (41 CFR) 101-11.6

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

b7D -4

TO : SAC, MEMPHIS [redacted]

DATE: 10/1/71

FROM : SAC, LITTLE ROCK [redacted] (RUC)

b7D -4

SUBJECT: [redacted]

b7D -4

Re [redacted]

The following investigation was conducted by SA LESTER M. LEDBETTER at Fayetteville, Arkansas:

b7D -2, 4

[redacted] advised 7/28/71, that he had no information relative to [redacted]

On 9/3/71, [redacted] County Assessor's Office, Fayetteville, Arkansas, advised that she posts [redacted] and she has no information [redacted]

b6 -2
b7C -2
b6 -4
b7C -4
b7D -4

On 9/3/71, [redacted], Circuit Clerk's Office, Washington County, Arkansas, searched records of [redacted] in the name of [redacted]

b6 -2
b7C -2
b6 -4
b7C -4
b7D -4

As investigation at Fayetteville, Arkansas, failed to develop any information regarding [redacted] this matter is considered RUC.

b7D -4
b7C -4
b7D -4

b7D -4

2-Memphis
2-Baltimore [redacted]
1-Little Rock
REL/jfm
(5)

Done
ccc w/ Hue
Pete Crupi

b6 -4
b7C -4
b7D -4

170-70- [redacted]

SEARCHED
SERIALIZED
INDEXED
FILED
OCT 6 1971
FBI — MEMPHIS

FBI-Withers-1224

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

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DATE 09-09-2012

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see memo

FILE NO. 176-70 [redacted]

SECTION [redacted]

SERIALS [redacted] through

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